

FELLOWSHIP

JULY 1946



Vol. XII—No. 7

How to Live with the Atom

INCLUDING:

Pilot Lights of the Apocalypse

A PLAY By DR. LOUIS N. RIDENOUR

An Open Letter to Dr. Einstein

By A. J. MUSTE

AND A SERIES OF CARTOONS WITH CAPTIONS
HIGHLIGHTING THE NEED OF ATOMIC CONTROL

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE:

Pacifist Christianity in Europe

By JOHN NEVIN SAYRE

MacArthur's Japan

By THEODORE D. WALSER

How It Feels to Be Starved

By PAUL H. BOWMAN and HAROLD GUETZKOW



20 cents a copy

\$2.00 a year

John Haynes Holmes

MY VOICE WILL NOT BE HEARD; even if heard, it would not be listened to. None the less, for the satisfaction of my own soul, I rise up and with my feeble pipe protest against the atomic bomb experiments now in progress in the Pacific.

I

Of course, we all know, or ought to know, what is at work here. Not sober scientific interest at all—not serious military inquiry and preparedness! What we have in the bomb tests is only one more instance of that sheer childishness which so persistently survives within grown personalities. "When I was a child," said St. Paul, "I spake as a child, I felt as a child, I thought as a child; but now that I am become a man, I have put away childish things." But Paul was an exception! Most of us do not "put away childish things," but cherish them to the end.

Thus, this atom business in the atolls is nothing more nor less than children at play with a toy which they simply can't leave alone. The "children" in this case are gray and grizzled, and wear military or naval uniform, but they are children all the same—children fascinated by what has been so wantonly placed in their hands. They've got to pull the trigger, to see if it will go off; they've got to start the engine, to see what it will do; they've got to explode the bomb, to see what will happen. I remember as a small boy being on a little coasting steamer in Maine on a day's excursion. I discovered in the stern a bell, to be rung by the captain to give signal to the engineer for stopping and starting the boat. I stood before that bell utterly bewitched. If I rang that bell, *if I rang that bell*, just once, *just once, if I rang the bell!!!* And I rang it—with results that I prefer not to describe.

Now, this is what our admirals are doing this month in the Pacific, with results it may not be possible to describe. Supposedly mature men are showing themselves to be only so many children fooling with a gadget which appalls and yet irresistibly attracts them. Nay, they are worse than children, for children are amenable to reason, if it be applied in time. But these military men have been warned, and argued with, and told—and it does no good! Like monkeys, moved by an instinct of mischief, they go right ahead heedlessly tearing the mysterious package open, and scattering its contents. No real desire to know, but an uncontrollable impulse to destroy! This is

what Professor Hooton, of Harvard, meant when he said, "To put into the hands of human beings as irresponsible as apes, and much more malicious, such a weapon as the atomic bomb, is to invite the destruction of civilization and the extinction of the human species."

II

But let us assume, for the sake of the argument, that this Bikini undertaking is seriously conceived and planned. I insist that it should still not be carried through. For two reasons!

First, it is unnecessary. Nothing really new or important will be discovered. We know already, from careful examination of the ruins of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, just what the atomic bomb will do. Though a more powerful bomb be used in these proposed experiments, the results will be the same. The only difference will be the more extensive scale of operation which can be precisely measured beforehand by familiar mathematical processes. Substituting water for soil and atolls for buildings does not alter the nature of the problem.

But this "experiment" is not only unnecessary; it is unwise. This is a strangely mild word to use to describe explosions which will not only shake the planet but shock the minds of men. Upon a world struggling amid circumstances of appalling difficulty to establish peace, we drop this bomb. How otherwise can this be interpreted than a testing of our arms for war? Suppose that in our present misunderstandings with the Soviets, it was Russia and not America that had the bomb! Suppose that Russia began playing with it as we are playing with it—exploding it in far places, carefully hidden from observation, to measure its force, observe its consequences, and master its control! At once we would declare, would we not, that this was final evidence of Russia's hostility, of her intention to make war upon us, of her getting ready for this war? Forthwith we would proceed ourselves to get ready. And the war would come!

Now it is this process which is going on today the other way around. It is America which has the bomb, and is filling the world with terror. Why all this trouble with Russia—this steady deterioration of good relations? A part of the answer lies in Russia, which is a totalitarian country, ruled by a cruel tyranny, and pursuing aggressive imperialistic tactics alien to peace. But a part of this answer lies in America, which possesses the most potent weapon of war that history has ever known, and is diligently practicing its use. For what purpose, if not the destruction of her enemies? Not only Russians but

FELLOWSHIP

Published by the

Fellowship of Reconciliation

2929 Broadway, New York 25, N. Y.

Co-Secretaries

A. J. MUSTE • JOHN NEVIN SAYRE

ALFRED HASSLER, *Editor*

J. ELLIOTT FINLAY, *Managing Editor*

RUTH ERWIN, *Assistant Editor*

EDITORIAL CONTRIBUTORS

Devere Allen
Walter Russell Bowie
Vera Brittain
Marguerite Harmon Bro
Bernard C. Clausen
Sarah N. Cleghorn
Florence Converse
Henry H. Crane
Albert Edward Day
Elisabeth D. Dodds
Eugene Exman
Caleb Foote
Albert Fowler
Richard B. Gregg
Wallace Hamilton
Erna Harris
John Haynes Holmes
Allan A. Hunter
Josephine W. Johnson
Muriel Lester
Halford E. Luccock
Alfred D. Moore
Ferner Nuhn
Kirby Page
Edith Lovejoy Pierce
Edwin McNeill Potat
Douglas V. Steere
John M. Swomley, Jr.
Howard Thurman

FELLOWSHIP is published monthly. Re-entered as second class matter February 15, 1941, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

20 Cents a Copy

\$2.00 a Year

Americans know what these experiments mean. They are a demonstration that at bottom we have no real confidence in the United Nations, or in any other agency of peace. That, in spite of our fine words and noble gestures, we are convinced that war is coming, and that we are going to have the bomb ready for the day! So I declare that this Pacific program is unwise. It is a conspiracy against man's hopes and prayers for a better world.

III

So I protest, as thousands of others are protesting aloud, and millions of others in their hearts. The perpetrators of this deed are irresponsible playboys. The deed itself is a crime against humanity.

Protests avail little, for we are drifting fast and far from the time when the voice of the people was heard and heeded. The military are tightening their hold upon us, and doing what they please. These bomb-tests are, among other things, a test of democracy. In the vast upheaval of the Pacific will float the fragments of our free society.

FELLOWSHIP

THE JOURNAL OF THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

July 1946



Vol. XII—No. 7

Subheads

Day in June

Twenty-five miles from where we sit writing this is a 90-acre piece of land we know of, lying quiet beneath the warm sky. The grass is long, and near where its blades spring from the earth are wild strawberries for the taking, luscious and sweet. The apple trees are loaded with young fruit, and half a mile back from the road, under tall hickories and oaks, a stream plays its simple harmonies on and over the stones in its bed.

Also today:

Fifty thousand people are hurrying to the Yankee Stadium, where they will pay two million dollars to watch two men try to beat each other into insensibility. . . .

The Army—the American Army—announces a new weapon in the making: a jet of molten metal which it can throw “in a deadly stream” at a speed of 25,000 feet a second, another gift of the scientists, which they can begin at once to warn everyone never, never to use. . . .

And British soldiers, fully equipped, patrol the ominously quiet streets of Tel Aviv: bewildered boys armed with the thunderbolts of a thousand Thors, defending a bitter paradox called empire against other bewildered boys who want only a place to plant their feet in the earth where they can be free and unafraid. Twenty-four Jews have been killed by British troops in Palestine in the last three days. . . .

The ninety acres of quiet land have been bought by nine families, of different racial and religious backgrounds, for a place where they can plant their feet in the good earth and raise their families to be free and unafraid. Nobody mentioned the ninety acres or the nine families in the newspapers today, though they represent the seed beneath the snow, and the quick little song of love in the center of the hurricane.

The Asto Unded Reviewer

What with the atomic bomb and all, this is probably no time to start wondering about modern poetry, but sometimes a person just can't help himself. With us such a time arrived simultaneously with a slim volume of verse by Kenneth Patchen, published by Untide Press, the publishing arm of the Waldport CPS men. The book is a

gorgeous hunk of typography in gray, red, and black, not more than twice as hard to read as ordinary black print on white paper, and goes under the title of

AN ASTON
ISHED EYE
LOOKS OUT
OF THE AIR

The reflections and refractions of light from the cover were bothersome, and in the course of crouching on the corner of the desk to peer at it obliquely, we saw *Aston* and *Ished* finally come together and make sense, but nothing like that happened with some of the poems. The first verse of “Keep Life,” for example (we are one of the old fuddie-duddies who divide poems into verses, which is just one step past our grand-daddy’s “stanzas”), is

*Town on the back of a hairy
Fish.*

We gave up on that, finally, but not without a struggle. When ordinary methods brought no light, we tried extraordinary, but nothing worked. Not hanging it on the wall, backing up ten feet, and peering at it while cupping a hand over one eye. Not holding it upside down. Not passing it gently over a candle-flame, nor dousing it with mysterious chemical solutions.

It's too bad, because there is a verse—there's that word again!—that titillates the imagination: the fifth, which reads simply, “Bang!” That's easy to follow: everyone's expecting that. But what's the rest? *That's* the question.

Medal

Colonel Lewis F. Kosch, head of Selective Service's administration of alternative service for COs, has been awarded the Distinguished Service Medal for “exceptionally meritorious service in a duty of great responsibility.” Colonel Kosch's exceptionally meritorious service lay in developing the plan “by which all conscientious objectors were able to render valuable service to their country in a manner compatible with their conscience and religion . . . with sympathetic understanding and a firmness of decision (he) skillfully and fully carried out the intents of Congress in this highly significant phase of the Selective Service program.”

Joining with Colonel Kosch in his happiness over this honor will be all COs now on work or slowdown strike or out on bail awaiting trial for same; all those now engaged in raking leaves and digging ditches without pay;

July 1946

the men who are in prison after walking out of CPS and the men who went to prison rather than CPS; and the wives and children of CPS men, who, with no dependency allotments, have had to live on public or private charity. Heil!

Youth for Hearst

We were not surprised to read the other day in *In Fact* a report of an antilabor attitude taken by Jack Wyrzten, leader of the mushrooming Youth for Christ evangelistic movement. Wyrzten is said to have answered a question put to him by a reporter of the *Newark Call*—"Can labor leaders be Christian?"—with the shocking reply: "It would be pretty hard, pretty hard. A labor leader might be a Christian, but I doubt if he could keep on being a labor leader."

In Fact concludes from this and other unsavory aspects of the movement that Wyrzten and his cohorts are part of an antilabor, antidemocratic conspiracy, which is unlikely. It happens that we were in the same Sunday school class and the same Boy Scout troop with Jack Wyrzten some years ago. We knew him when he began his evangelistic crusades with street-corner and "testimony" meetings, and from many, many contacts we know him and his type of emotional brass-bands-and-circus evangelistic leader very well indeed.

They are not in a conscious conspiracy against anyone. The plain truth is that in making such statements they just don't know any better. They are sincere, naive, and incredibly uninformed. We doubt that Wyrzten ever met a labor leader in his life, or ever read a labor paper, or a reasonably authoritative book about labor. His statement reflects the unreasoned prejudices of the person who fashions his opinions on what he reads in the sensational press and sees in the movies. It is ominous because he happens to have the ear of scores of thousands of people, because such men as Hearst are riding his magic coat tails, and because he does express the opinions of millions more who similarly are dependent for their intellectual priming on nothing more reliable than a columnist suffering from acidosis of the intellect.

OPA

Our old friends the decentralists have taken a crack at OPA in the June 15 *Interpreter*, repeating the threadbare story of how control of prices never has worked since the time of Hammurabi in 2285 B.C., and never will work, because "the law-abiding businessman will close up shop rather than operate at a loss."

This is a curious position for the decentralists, who usually are to be found on the side of the peepul, full of right cogent arguments. It can only be assumed that they have dreamed up a projection of the imperfect reality of OPA on the still non-existent perfection of the completely decentralized free society.

The rental records of ancient Babylon are not at hand, but we can assure the *Interpreter* that rent control is working pretty successfully right now, and alone would make the whole institution of OPA worth while. Our own lease has an "escalator clause" panting impatiently for the demise of control, and so have practically all other leases in New York City. And the landlords are *not* operating at a loss.

Vacancies, normally between five and ten per cent, now are less than 0.5 per cent. Redecorating of apartments has been reduced or eliminated, and the loss involved in the usual rapid turnover of tenants has disappeared.

The same factors operate in other businesses. There cannot be a free market now because production was deflected from consumer needs for five years, and the supply of goods and services is totally inadequate to meet the demand. Until the two level off, price control is the last flimsy bulwark between the masses of the people and unbridled inflation. Such able economists as the decentralists should realize that.

One-Minute Dialogue

"Teacher says it's silly to talk about rich people becoming richer in a war. Is that right, Daddy?"

"That's right, Sonny. Nobody makes money out of war any more."

"Who built the big steel plant at Geneva, Utah, Daddy?"

"The Government did, Sonny."

"How much did it cost, Daddy?"

"Two hundred million dollars, they tell me, Sonny."

"Who paid for it, Daddy?"

"The people did, Sonny, through their taxes. But of course then it belonged to the people, through the Government."

"Who does it belong to now, Daddy?"

"United States Steel, Sonny."

"How much did United States Steel pay for it, Daddy?"

"Forty-seven and a half million dollars, Sonny."

"Nobody makes money out of war any more, do they Daddy?"

"No, Sonny. Nobody."

Straws in a Foolish Wind

The editor of the Virginia Methodist *Advocate* has called for the unfrocking of the Rev. Charles C. Webber, Methodist minister recently appointed to be "chaplain to organized labor."

* * *

The Rev. Dr. Allan A. Stockdale recently made his 2,000th speech for the National Association of Manufacturers, whose speakers' bureau he heads—in Richmond, Virginia!

* * *

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. voted approval of President Truman's plan to use the draft to break strikes.

* * *

The U. S., hunting gingerly for peace, is planning to train a new and more efficient Chinese army.

* * *

A survey by the National Opinion Research Center showed one-third of the American people denying the right of the press to criticize the government, even in peacetime. Only 57 per cent supported the right of the Socialist Party—of all things—to publish a newspaper.

* * *

The Benrus people are advertising one of their products as an "embraceable" watch. No doubt with pale hands.

Pacifist Christianity in Europe

The second of two articles on "Europe After the War"

By JOHN NEVIN SAYRE

THE CHIEF OBJECT OF MY RECENT TOUR in Europe was to renew fellowship and plan activity with pacifists of the nations that had fought each other through six years of slaughter.

I knew, before I set out, that certain leaders of the Fellowship of Reconciliation had survived the ordeal of the fiery furnace and given stirring evidence of the power of non-violent spiritual force. But what was the situation of the Fellowship of Reconciliation as a whole? Had it faith in its mission for the future or was it spent and aged, done in by the overwhelming and continuing disaster of the war? Would pacifist Christianity or militarist Christianity or agnostic nationalism dominate Europe in the future? These were some of the questions that pressed in on me as I flew in a single night over the ocean to England.

Now that I am home again the biggest questions are still unanswered, but there is no doubt in my mind as to the validity and vitality of pacifist Christianity and the part played by the Fellowship of Reconciliation in fortifying and sustaining individual pacifists against despair.

In no country that I visited was the Fellowship wiped out; in most it had grown stronger. But the ordeal of Europe's pacifists is by no means over. In Czechoslovakia one of the best of them said to me, "Our position today is harder than it was at any time during the war." Certainly the pacifists of America must not slacken in aid to their brethren overseas nor desist for one day from the critical struggle in the United States to achieve an American policy that makes the right contribution for peace.

The British Isles

I was met at Victoria station in London by Percy Bartlett, General Secretary of the International FOR, who took me to his home at Leigh-on-Sea from where he had commuted to London throughout the German bombings and rain of V1 and V2 missiles. The railway on which Percy had to travel was a target often hit, the office of the International FOR had been blasted into ruin, and one night Percy and his wife huddled under the stairs in their home while a big bomb exploded close by. Yet day after day, in the face of these dangers, Percy left wife and home in the morning, did a full day's work, and returned in the evening not knowing whether home and wife would be there.

Alan Balding, now chairman of the British FOR, is minister of a London church that was blitzed thirty to forty times and then destroyed by a direct hit only two nights after Alan and his family had moved their living quarters out of there.

Runham Brown, Honorary Secretary of the War Resisters International, reading in bed one night, heard an explosion, saw the outer wall of his bedroom coming toward him, flattened himself in a split second and escaped being crushed by the wall.

Britain had four times as many conscientious objectors in this war as in 1914-1918. The total was about 64,000.

The British FOR increased its membership from 9,813 in 1939 to 11,000 when hostilities ended. It had 400 local groups. In the first years of the war there was danger of pacifists seceding from the churches to form a pacifist sect, but this was averted, largely through the continuing fellowship of pacifist and non-pacifist Christians in the Cloister Group, organized by Percy Bartlett, with Archbishop Temple as chairman. Charles Raven, Honorary Chairman of the British FOR and recently appointed Vice Chancellor of Cambridge University, is the leading elder statesman of pacifist Christianity in England today. Professor Garth Macgregor at the University of Glasgow is the outstanding exponent of New Testament pacifism in Scotland.

The Neutral Countries

I visited three countries that had managed to keep out of the war—Ireland, Switzerland and Sweden. Of course they could not wholly be out of Europe's embroilment, its propaganda and passions and the temptation of war profits for neutral countries. Nevertheless the dehumanization process did not go as far in them as in the nations immersed in the war's insanity. In the neutral countries pacifists exerted themselves in endeavoring to have their countrymen sacrifice in sharing hospitality and giving aid to children and war victims of stricken lands.

This was especially true in Sweden where under the veteran leadership of Natanael Beskow the Fellowship (Forbundet För Kristet Sambällsliv) for years has maintained the largest membership of any country on the Continent. It has about 900 Swedish members at present. Dr. Beskow, over 80 years of age, opened the first meeting of the International FOR Council in Stockholm and was present at all eighteen sessions. A bequest from Louise von Bahr, who died during the war, gave 10,000 Kroner to the Swedish Fellowship, a large portion of which was turned over to the International FOR. This was used to finance a week's study conference at Saanen, Switzerland in 1943, managed by Siegmund-Schultze; and to provide traveling expenses for most of the continental delegates who came to the Stockholm meeting as well as entertainment in Stockholm for all the 52 of us who were present. Sweden had 10,000 conscientious objectors to military service.

In Switzerland the Fellowship has been led by Siegmund-Schultze, who was Chairman of the IFOR Executive Committee and kept open and operating our European Center at Zurich. He came to the airport to meet me and that evening Muriel Lester, Siegmund, his wife, daughter and I had an unforgettable reunion. It was incredible to me how little he had aged in thirteen years exile, though he had carried the burden of ministering day by day and week by week to the refugees and stricken friends who came to him for material aid and spiritual consolation. The American Fellow-

ship had sent him \$500 a month right through the war, and sometimes more, but he also raised funds in Switzerland for André Trocmé's school in France, for starting a children's relief home and other projects in Vienna, and for medicines and aid for the pitiable procession of old men, women and children driven out of Czechoslovakia and eastern Germany by Czechs, Poles and Russians along the suicide road to blasted Berlin. And as he had tried with Henry Hodgkin in the days of World War I to shorten that war, so in World War II he did what he could to facilitate contact between the anti-Hitlerite leaders of Germany and the Archbishop of Canterbury and Prime Minister Churchill, hoping to effect some shortening of the war and save Europe from the devastation of a Carthaginian peace.

Both times failure in reconciliation was complete. Yet Siegmund-Schultze was not bitter nor broken in spirit. As soon as the Russians will let him he now expects to return to Berlin, share in the humiliation and suffering of his people, try to rebuild the social settlement which he founded thirty-five years ago while chaplain to the Kaiser. The secret of such persistent strength was revealed in something that he said at Stockholm: "Work without success has a special significance for Christians. Patience is a gift not of this world, but of Christ. It is for the Christian to hope against expectation."

The Occupied Countries

The countries that I went to which had been *occupied by Germany in the war* included Denmark, Norway, Belgium, Holland, France and Czechoslovakia. FOR delegates from all of them and from Finland reported at Stockholm. A few paragraphs about Christian pacifism in each is all that space allows.

The Danish Fellowship (*Kristeligt Fredsforbund*) of about 300 members is headed by Ellen Petersen, the sister of Kirsten Svelmoe-Thomsen who had led and loved the organization for twenty-one years until her death in 1940. Ellen Petersen, who is superintendent of a Copenhagen school, managed to keep the Fellowship and its monthly magazine functioning right through the occupation. Hagbard Jonassen did the same for the Danish War Resisters and R. Halfden-Nielsen for the Quakers. Peter Manniche held on to his International Peoples College at Elsinore although the buildings were taken over by the Germans for a time. The buildings were not seriously damaged, and the College is going ahead vigorously today. When Muriel Lester and I lectured there it had 105 students from Denmark, Sweden, Latvia, Czechoslovakia and Holland. It is Peter Manniche's dream that the College should be a center of reconciliation between students from Russia and the West.

There are 200,000 Germans interned in refugee camps in Denmark whose plight is very hard. Margrethe Thorborg, a leading FOR member, is a regular visitor to one camp. The Danish Church, the Quakers and the FOR have carried on a limited amount of relief. The peace groups also are engaged in relief projects in Norway and Holland.

In the delegation from Norway to Stockholm was Dr. Ole Olden, Rector of the public school at Stavanger,

NORWAY who had been present at some of the earliest IFOR Conferences after World War I and experienced Nazi internment in World War II. There came also Pastor Edwin Listor, Secretary of the Norwegian Fellowship, and three other pastors. The way was cleared for them to come by Halvard Lange, the Foreign Minister of Norway, who years ago was Youth Secretary of the International FOR in London.

One of the most serious internal problems with which Norway today has to struggle is reconciliation with 63,000 Norwegian Nazis now in prison and another 40,000 who have been set free. Seven peace organizations have established a cooperating council with headquarters at the Nobel House in Oslo. I was privileged to speak there and in a leading church and at student meetings arranged by Edwin Listor. Gerda Tandberg, a strong anti-Nazi but not a pacifist during the occupation, had many exciting encounters with the Nazis but emerged from it all an ardent pacifist. She is now our Norwegian Treasurer and entertained Muriel Lester in her home.

The worst destruction done by the Germans occurred in the northernmost province of Finmark, where a scorched-earth policy was carried through with such thoroughness that it will take five years to restore the land and villages to their former condition. I have not space to tell about the refusal of 700 Norwegian pastors to serve Quisling. I sum it up in the words of one of them who was present at Stockholm: "It was a magnificent labor to defend conscience and liberty and say with St. Paul 'Our Lord is Jesus Christ. He alone. Our children, our youth, our home, our social life belong to Him.'"

Deryck Siven came to Stockholm with four others from Finland. Once before the war I had stayed in his home.

FINLAND Being of draft age he had suffered imprisonment as a conscientious objector. He told about Finland losing two wars, owing \$300,000,000 in reparations to Russia, being burdened with half a million people evacuated from Karelia, but still holding on to her independence. He hoped that his country might have the confidence of both Russia and the Anglo-Saxon nations, and so become a bridge for better understanding between them.

The FOR had been reorganized and now had both a Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking branch. General war resisters numbered from three to four thousand. Their lot was fairly easy during the first war; during the second they had been given alternative service, some had been imprisoned for terms of from two to six years, some had been killed and some tortured.

During my visit to Belgium I spent three days with Philippe Vernier. He came to Stockholm with Jacques

BELGIUM Harts, an influential secretary of the Protestant organization in Brussels, and Magda Yoors-Peters, a Roman Catholic war refugee. Philippe had had many pacifist adventures, sheltering refugees and constantly crossing and recrossing the border into France on errands for his church, not to mention his better-known conscientious objector experiences in French prisons. He is encouraged by the growth of pacifism among pastors and people in the coal-mining district where his church is situated near Mons. He assured me that he could find

at least one hundred families who would take German children into their homes if governments would allow the children to come.

It was a sinister sight to see, as I did, a truckload of German war prisoners being brought out from their slave labor in Belgian mines. If my memory is correct, over 60 per cent of the miners in this region are German war prisoners. Their food rations are low, but Philippe reported that it is a common practice with many Belgian miners to take extra lunches with them into the mines for the Germans, although this is a severely punishable offense. Philippe and his friends are expecting to undertake a reconstruction project in his neighborhood next summer in cooperation with International Voluntary Service for Peace. I was happy that I could introduce him to the chief of the European work of the Brethren Service Committee who hopes to give material aid. Cooperation between pacifist agencies is more and more a necessity.

In Holland, Professor Heering of the University of Leyden, author of *The Fall of Christianity* and leader of the Dutch church and peace movement (*Kerk en Vrede*), entertained me for two days in his home. He continued preaching and his lectures at the University until the last year of the war when the University was closed. Then he wrote a new book. At one time the Gestapo began to search for him but he slept in different places and was never apprehended. J. J. Buskes and J. B. Hugenholtz were not so fortunate and suffered terms of imprisonment. Jan Bosdriesz of the FOR died in concentration camp for distributing papers against anti-Semitism. *Kerk en Vrede* and the FOR were officially liquidated. The former, which before the war had 10,000 members, lost about half before liquidation. But its leadership and a considerable number of members maintained their pacifism. The FOR never had a large membership and its chairman, J. Spengelink, has died. The probability is that the two organizations will unite.

Holland suffered longer, resisted harder and took a worse beating from the Nazis than Belgium, France, Norway or Denmark. But out of it they learned, as Professor Heering put it, "the breaking power of spiritual passive resistance." Unfortunately much of the resistance was inspired by hatred and a nationalism which discarded Christian ethical and religious standards. There is now a terrible problem of moral confusion of youth to be reckoned with. Six long years of struggle in which every sin was allowed against the enemy has consequences which go on to poison peace. Only total pacifist Christianity is adequate to cope with this task.

One such example I saw in the work of Kees Boeke, who was the first European Secretary of FOR after the first World War. I stayed with him a couple of days at his remarkable school in Bilthoven which has the distinction of including among its students two grandchildren of the Queen of Holland. Kees expresses a lot of his pacifism through a ministry of music. He conducts a school choir and an orchestra drawn from professional musicians of Utrecht, which gave top-notch four-hour renditions of Bach's *St. Matthew's Passion* music in large churches in four cities last Eastertide. Even in years of great hunger and cold Kees kept this program going.

The French FOR was represented at Stockholm by Henri Roser, André Trocmé and Jacques Martin. The last, who is editor of the review *Christianisme Social*, narrowly escaped death when near the end of the war the Nazis killed all the other prisoners in the camp where he was held. He was released because the Maquis in the neighborhood who loved him had threatened that if anything happened to him they would kill a hostage that they were holding. They later exchanged 2,000 sheep for him.

I have to assume that readers of *Fellowship* are familiar with the pacifist testimony of Henri Roser and André Trocmé, for there is not room to tell all that ought to be told in this article. However, a word must be said about the remarkable rise in the esteem of the French Protestant Church these men have had and how much they have done to lessen the prejudice against pacifism. Until last July the French Protestant Church had refused to give Roser full ordination because of his pacifism. Now he is ordained and has been made principal of a school in Paris to train Christian workers. Before the war Trocmé was the first pacifist Protestant clergyman to secure ordination in France and this was granted only when the parish at Le Chambon threatened to make a stir if Trocmé should be debarred from ministering to it as a full minister. But when the IFOR Council at Stockholm called Trocmé to be its European and Youth Secretary, it found that he was held in such regard by the French Church that it was reluctant to let him go, and two months of negotiation have been required to work out a compromise whereby he will continue officially as Pastor at Le Chambon while serving half-time as a Secretary of the IFOR.

Pastor Jan Kucera came to Stockholm as a delegate from our group in Czechoslovakia. He had preached and lived pacifism in his church at Prague all through the war and revolution. In February I met with the FOR groups in Prague. After going to see how a splendid consignment of cattle from the Church of the Brethren in America were to be distributed in Eastern Czechoslovakia, I returned to Prague to visit the children's project that Premysl Pitter, Olga Fierz and a large staff of helpers are carrying on. They had persuaded the government to lend them a hotel and four castles for this work where they have taken care of 650 children rescued from concentration camps.

I spent a week-end visiting this enterprise, and can remember clearly the incredible happiness and play life of the children. I remember a mother reunited with two children, one of whom sat in her lap for a good part of the afternoon. I remember the little boy who kept running up to me to be petted. He was starving for affection! I remember the head doctor who played follow-the-leader and was greeted everywhere as playfellow and merriment maker. He was a Jew who had suffered four years in German concentration camps. In one of them, he told me, sometimes two thousand victims went to the gas chambers in one day. His wife had been executed. But he did not want to talk about the past. "It is best to forget it," he said. So there he was, giving every moment and all his skill to save child life for the future! He that loseth his life shall find it. Yes, and only such can be saviors of peace and break the chain of sin and counter-sin which drags Europe on toward doom.

The "Enemy" Countries

I was unable to include Austria in my trip and there was no one from that country at Stockholm. However, we had a warm letter from Kaspar Mayr of Vienna, who years ago had been an IFOR Secretary. Siegmund-Schultze told about the relief action initiated in Vienna last fall by Mälla Granat and Rita Bächler, whom the FOR had sent there from Switzerland. Aided by Kaspar Mayr and his daughter, and funds from the Swiss Red Cross and the American Friends Service Committee, a home for children had been organized and was operating and about one thousand old people were on our visiting list.

For thirteen years under the Hitler regime FOR people in Germany lived close to death. One of the first martyrs was Herrman Stohr, once our German Youth Secretary, executed as a conscientious objector in Moabit prison. Monsignor Max Josef Metzger, a Council member of our earliest days, was executed in a concentration camp. Elizabeth von Patten, full of confidence and courage on the scaffold, spoke a word of scriptural comfort to five comrades just before each was hanged, after which she suffered the same penalty. Others may have been killed whose names I do not know; others like Otto Weiss died from the effect of imprisonment or hardships of the time; others today, like courageous Greta Sumpf, are dangerously ill.

Conversely, some FOR persons and some Quakers were converted by the propaganda of Hitlerism and fell away. But their defection has been much more than counter-balanced by the valiant faith of those who never once lifted their hands in the Hitler salute or uttered a "Heil Hitler." That was true of Pastor Wilhelm Mensching who without interruption has continued in charge of his church and is our secretary in Germany today. Siegmund-Schultze knows of twenty-six friends who never took the Hitler oath.

The sacrifices and extent of the resistance movement within Germany are not sufficiently understood or appreciated outside. Siegmund-Schultze states that from 1933 until mid-July 1940 more than 400,000 Germans, not including those of Jewish descent, were executed in the concentration camps of Germany alone; that in the period from January 1943 to March 1944, 25,000 were executed by decree of the People's Courts in Berlin, Dresden and Stuttgart; and that after Gordeler's attempt at revolution in 1944, 10,000 more were executed, including nearly all of our political friends. He says, furthermore, that there is evidence to show that at no time did a majority of the German people favor Hitler, and that although the coming of war and belief that Germany then had to fight for her very existence consolidated support for the national effort, yet near its close three-quarters of the population, and especially the working classes, wanted to see the end of Hitler and were ready to collaborate with the Western Powers in a sincere effort for lasting peace. Unfortunately this was not believed by Germany's conquerors, who consequently lost a critical opportunity for reconciliation. Today German sentiment has turned and hatred grows apace.

Wilhelm Mensching, who came to Stockholm direct from Germany, transported by a British military plane as far as Copenhagen, added this further ominous fact that stands in the way of peace. The German population, he said, is divided against itself and embittered by the mil-

lions of hungry unwelcome strangers who have been forced into its midst by the deportations from Czechoslovakia and former German territory now taken over by Poland and Russia. There are ten villages in his neighborhood filled up by Polish refugees, including twelve hundred Polish children. So added to the hostility between collaborationists and non-collaborationists, city people and country people, there is a desperate struggle of hunger. Where two hundred persons had lived in Mensching's village before the war, four hundred now must find livelihood. And all day long people come out from the city of Hannover, twenty-five miles away, to scour the countryside to beg, buy or steal food from farmers' womenfolk. The very last reserves of grain have been taken from Petzen (Mensching's village) and because of lack of fertilizer the soil of Germany is facing utter exhaustion.

After spending nine days in Germany, visiting the terribly bombed cities of Kassel, Hannover, Frankfurt, Cologne and the Ruhr, talking with FOR members, Friends Ambulance Unit workers and UNRRA officials, I am convinced that Siegmund-Schultze and Wilhelm Mensching do not exaggerate when they say that the people of Germany probably will have a worse winter in 1947 than they experienced this year. The future is dark and uncertain. All the more striking then is the life-giving faith of members like Mensching in God and his call to the FOR. "In our darkest days," Mensching told us at Stockholm, "there was with us our Lord and there was you." I was the first American civilian who got through to see him in Germany after the war. I was also the first to speak to the first peace meeting in Kassel and to meet in Cologne with Asta Brugelmann and the committee that is organizing the FOR in the British zone. The next night they had a public meeting with two hundred persons present, half of them old friends and the others new.

Some of our best members are in the Russian zone, for instance, Agnes Martens-Edelmann and Marie Pleissner. Herman Hoffmann, IFOR Council member and Roman Catholic priest in Breslau, which is now incorporated in Poland, wrote in February that he is still there and has continued his ecclesiastical functions, preaching from one to three sermons every Sunday since 1939. Nearly every Sunday he heard Polish confessions but never a traitor denounced him. His book *The Church and the Peace* was forbidden, confiscated and destroyed, each new pamphlet had to be censored by nine officers, but he was never put in prison or concentration camp. Today he is minister of a German parish in Breslau. Many of his people cannot buy bread; and milk, butter, sugar and white bread are "all things unknown many years for me." He has "arranged for his children a warm meal daily, begging and asking alms everywhere." He says, "We are forgotten here; Poland is helped by the UNRRA, Germany has been helped by the Allies, we are here forgotten; hunger, hunger, hunger." And he tells of things which are worse but says, "I cannot be thankful enough for the grace and protection of Almighty God." He concludes, "I intend with God's will to remain in Poland and to work under and for this people so cruelly mistreated by my people. May God accept this sacrifice in penance for the sins of my people." To us he signs his name at the end, "in old friendship, in the community of ideals, of creed, and hope and charity."

The Problem of the Pure in Heart

By DONALD W. CALHOUN*

ONE of the most disintegrating factors in modern pacifism is the belief that freedom of conscience implies tolerance of the social consequences resulting from the exercise of conscience; that the pacifist's attitude toward the thing a person stands for should be determined by the purity of the person's motives.

We saw it at the beginning of the war in the position that held that Christian pacifists should not "break the fellowship" with Christian non-pacifists, because common purity of intention was more important than the difference between the objective support or rejection of war. We saw it among the "vocational" pacifists, especially a good many British Quakers, who seemed reluctant to do anything overt to oppose the war because most British people in good faith believed that the only thing to do in the situation was to go through with it. We have seen it in the claim of pacifist administrators of conscription that they must continue their work because a large number of CPS men conscientiously accept the CPS system. (Whether or not this is a projection of the administrative mind is not the question.) In other words, all too often we see subjective purity of *motive* weighted higher than the objective *results* of a position.

Social Consequences a Criterion

What I am questioning is not freedom of conscience or the necessity for purity of heart. As pacifists we never can take any other position than that every individual should have freedom to choose on which side of the fence he will align himself on social issues, that neither we ourselves nor anyone else should coerce him into being a pacifist or a militarist, a socialist or a capitalist, an acceptor or an opponent of conscription. But what we often seem to have failed to do is to recognize that once he has made that choice, our decision to support or oppose what he *stands* for must be determined by what we believe the social consequences will be (our conviction of its social rightness or wrongness) and not by the sincerity or insincerity of its advocates.

There are at least two ways in which this problem directly affects pacifists. The first example concerns tendencies within pacifist organizations. The Society of Friends seems a clear and relevant case of the way in which social action is hamstrung when emphasis shifts from objective social policy to subjective inner motivation. In their prophetic days, the Quakers were distinguished by their opposition to war; in fact most outsiders still so distinguish them. But actually opposition to war has so far disappeared that a majority of Quakers are not pacifists, and the only common characteristic possessed by Friends is the "inner light." The result is that while the Society still does invaluable work of a service character, its prophetic voice on the

crucial social issues of our time (including the institution of war) is at best a still, small voice. This failing is certainly related to the fact that possession of the inner light has become a more significant standard for membership than possession of the outer pacifist witness.

The second example concerns our relations with non-pacifist organizations and institutions. Here we have what we may call the General-Hershey's-a-good-Joe-so-let's-not-be-too-hard-on-him school of thought. Most of us dissenters doubtless hold at some time the view that there is a necessary tie-up in our society between personal and social morality, and we tend to conjure up a stereotype of a militarist (or a capitalist, or what have you) as something close to the devil incarnate.¹ But at one point or another we become more sophisticated and learn that General Hershey is kind to animals and children, does not beat his wife, comes from a good Mennonite background, and enjoys a game of golf as much as the next fellow.

From here we may generalize not only that General Hershey is a well-meaning moral man, but that he is actually more well-meaning and moral than some of those irresponsible COs out in the desert of Oregon or the woods of Colorado, who seem to spend their time work-striking and imbibing alcoholic beverages. The denouement comes when we decide that we owe more responsibility to moral General Hershey than to those immoral CO's. All the time our effective belief in the social implications of our stand has weakened, until finally we may wind up with the "vocational" pacifists: since all factions seem to be equally moral and sincere and since a majority think the war is a good or necessary thing, we should not put any obstacles in their way but should rather assume a purely esoteric and monastic role as "keepers of the light" of peace.

Defending and Opposing Dissenters

Of course the problem is often not simple. In our relations with those with whom we disagree, we must recognize that actually it is impossible to separate protection of a person's freedom of conscience from the program for which he stands. The very act of insuring his freedom of belief does strengthen the cause he espouses. But that is certainly as far as we should go.

How, for instance, should a pacifist who does not oppose conscription as such act toward a pacifist who does reject it? If the conscription question is to him relatively amoral, if he feels that neither the state which conscripts nor the pacifist who resists is really morally wrong, then because he recognizes in the resister a kindred spirit, a fellow member of a minority, he may go to some length in helping a fellow underdog along.

But if a pacifist is really convinced that conscription in itself is a reasonable principle (and I suppose some pacifists are), that the resister is refusing to fulfill an obligation which he really should perform, then the case is different. He will certainly do as much as any non-pacifist concerned with civil liberty would do. He will try to insure the freedom of conscience of the dissenter, not only by making sure that he gets his formal legal rights, but also by helping make sure that external factors which might keep the resister from doing what he believes right—such as

¹ There is a good case for such a tie-up, but not necessarily in this direction. It has often been pointed out that under Protestant capitalism personal virtue becomes a sort of absolution for social wickedness, and so the most socially evil persons may be the most personally moral.

* Ex-CPS man, graduate student in sociology, formerly Secretary AFSC in Pacific Northwest.

fear of starvation for his family or of inability to get a job as a result of his stand—are removed as completely as possible. But having done that, if he really believes the dissenter's position to be morally wrong, whatever his estimate of the purity of motive, it seems to me that he is obligated to oppose the dissenter's cause even while he helps him maintain his right to dissent.

Dilemma of Moral Conviction

The dilemma is purposely stated in terms of a position (conviction of the moral rightness of conscription) with which most pacifists disagree, in order to make the case as strong as possible. For the number of pacifists who face the problem in this form is certainly small; whereas the real problems which face organized pacifism are of a different and, I think, really a simpler sort. Granted that an individual pacifist or a pacifist organization is convinced that conscription is morally wrong (and we must grant that there are a large number of pacifist administrators and others who do not think it is wrong, but at most amoral), what is to be done? How should pacifist administrators who disbelieve in conscription behave toward the conscripting authorities? Even more important, just how far does their duty go toward CPS men who accept the conscriptive system? Should they administer and/or financially support conscription on the ground that in their hands it can be made a little less unbearable or can offer more compensating advantages than conscription directly in the hands of the state?

It seems to me that the answer in its general outlines is clear. From Voltaire and Milton and Locke and Mill on down we have inherited the belief that disagree as we may with a man, we will spare nothing in insuring him his right to believe. But that is only half the story. Having done that, we are also obligated to spare no effort in defeating that for which he stands, or which he accepts.

It is certainly not an easy matter to apply the principle within our own organizations. If it is stultifying to define membership in our groups purely on the basis of inner motivation, the opposite extreme of party-line conformity to details of a social action program is certainly no more hopeful. When does a difference in judgment on objective social policy become more important than the subjective community of good will? There is no ready answer, but pacifists might look once again at their cleavages on such issues as CPS support and conscription, and ask whether very often we do not know that a division is irreconcilable long before we are ready to do anything about it.

To return to the Friends purely as an illustration, it seems to me that if they wish to remain socially effective in a prophetic way, they should establish the peace testimony as an essential requirement for membership, and then say to their non-pacifist members (and there is no reason why it cannot be done with complete love and respect): "This Society exists by virtue of a social witness as well as by virtue of a common conception of the light. A difference in moral judgment on war is, in our modern world, not a mere difference. That which separates us is greater than that which unites us. Let us go our separate ways." And perhaps some other pacifists might well ask themselves whether, though the specific issues may be different, their houses are less divided.

(Continued on page 131)

Thoreau: Pioneer of Civil Disobedience

By WALTER HARDING*

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE is the armament of the pacifist. It is his long sought "moral equivalent to war," offering him both a moral and an effective technique for resistance to tyranny. It is his answer to the militarist's assertion that pacifism is mere negativism, for while civil disobedience is not a universal cure-all, in practice it has shown a higher degree of success in overcoming evil than the military method.

Just a century ago the technique of civil disobedience was set forth by one of our greatest American authors, Henry David Thoreau, in words of acid clarity that have rung a challenge to lovers of freedom around the world ever since. His essay *On Resistance to Civil Government*, now more commonly known as *On the Duty of Civil Disobedience*, is the classic exposition of the technique and a manual of arms for all pacifists:

Must the citizen ever for a moment, or in the least degree, resign his conscience to the legislator? Why has every man a conscience, then? I think that we should be men first, and subjects afterward. It is not desirable to cultivate a respect for the law, so much as for the right. The only obligation which I have a right to assume is to do at any time what I think right . . . Law never made men a whit more just; and, by means of their respect for it, even the well-disposed are daily made the agents of injustice. . . .

A minority is powerless while it conforms to the majority; it is not even a minority then; but it is irresistible when it clogs by its whole weight. If the alternative is to keep all just men in prison, or give up war and slavery, the State will not hesitate which to choose. If a thousand men were not to pay their tax-bills this year, that would not be a violent and bloody measure, as it would be to pay them, and enable the State to commit violence and shed innocent blood. . . .

Under a government which imprisons any unjustly, the true place for a just man is also in prison . . . If any think that their influence would be lost there, and their voice no longer afflict the ear of the State, that they would not be as an enemy within its walls, they do not know by how much truth is stronger than error, nor how much more eloquently and effectively he can combat injustice who has experienced a little in his own person.

Non-violent Resistance

Civil disobedience is a technique of passive resistance. It must not be confused with non-resistance, which attempts merely to ignore wrongdoing. Civil disobedience is a resistance, but it is a moral resistance rather than a violent one. Ethically it is based on the principle that one cannot overcome evil with evil, but must instead overcome evil with good. It attempts to commit no harm against the wrongdoer but rather to prevent him from pursuing his course and to point out to him the better direction. It does not predicate a victory over an opponent, but rather a victory with him. As Thoreau has said elsewhere, "I have not succeeded if I have an antagonist who fails. It must be humanity's success."

* F.O.R. member, recently discharged from CPS., Secretary of the Thoreau Society.

Non-cooperation

Civil disobedience consists in refusing to cooperate with the wrongdoer. It is a civic sit-down strike called by an enlightened citizenry when it finds its own government in the wrong. Not only does the passive resister refuse to aid in the committing of injustices, but by his refusal he retards the efficiency of the agents until by sheer weight he bogs them down. It is a sort of non-violent sabotage wherein the conscientious citizen drags his heels on the wagon of a government hell-bent for destruction. That it is effective out of all proportion to its weight may be ascribed to the fact that it places the burden of action upon the opponent. It is the maneuver of the strategist who, sitting still, requires his enemy to tire himself out preparing for all eventualities. Its potency is accentuated by the opponent's fear of creating a martyrdom. An honest citizen martyred can do more to topple the throne of tyranny than ten thousand armed legions. Woe to the tyrant who forgets that! Ten good men in prison can create a revolution, or one Gandhi shake an empire to its foundations!

Civil disobedience then requires no armaments, no violence, no harm to one's opponents. It requires only morally potent men, citizens who burn with a zeal for freedom and justice. If it has its weak point, it is that citizens of such calibre are all too few this day. But that is a criticism of our civilization and not of the technique. Just as any modern military expedition requires its highly trained soldiers, so does the army of passive resistance. The pacifists must make it their duty to see that such a citizenry is provided. If the outlook ahead appears dark, if the horizons of freedom seem to be closing in on us; if we seem to be toppling off the peak of a civilization and plunging downward into another dark age, that is all the more reason for us to work harder, preparing and training for the stormy days that lie ahead.

Historically the theory of civil disobedience can be traced through the centuries and the civilizations at least as far as Mencius, the Chinese philosopher of the third century before Christ. It has been both advocated and practiced to a limited extent throughout recorded history. But modern use of the technique marks its centennial only this summer.

The Story of Thoreau

Henry David Thoreau is best known in this his native country as a nature writer. As the author of *Walden* he has produced probably the greatest nature classic ever written. Translated into every major language, it is known around the world. Lesser known is his far more potent little essay on civil disobedience.

In May, 1846, the American Congress had declared war on the impotent and senile Mexican government. It was a thinly veiled imperialistic junket, an attempt by our Southern slavocracy to extend its territory. The anti-slavery men of the North were quick to denounce the war but did little to oppose it. Thoreau, on the other hand, calmly renounced allegiance to his government and refused to pay taxes in its support. One warm summer evening late in July of that year as he was walking into town from his Walden hut, he was arrested by the village constable and placed in the local jail. A shocked and scandalized maiden

aunt rushed out to pay his taxes that night under cover of darkness and the prisoner was released over his own protest in the morning. But returning to his cabin, Thoreau sat down and wrote one of the most vitriolic denunciations of government and the state that has flowed from the pen of any American author.

Civil Disobedience has suffered an unofficial ban since its first appearance in print. Despite the fact that it is one of the most significant pieces of American literature, it does not appear in a single American high school text and only very rarely in even a college or graduate school text. Although it has been widely reprinted abroad in pamphlet form for popular distribution, chiefly under the aegis of radical groups, in this country it has been seen rarely except buried in the middle of Thoreau's collected works where few but the scholar would ever find it. In New York City only ten years ago a complete issue of a small-circulation newspaper was seized and destroyed by the police as seditious because it reprinted the essay.

Civil Disobedience Abroad

Abroad, however, it has received much greater attention. As early as the 1890's it was reprinted in translation in a Bucharest newspaper. Tolstoi aided its distribution in Russia. The Fabians and early British Labor Party intellectuals brought it out in pamphlet form in England soon after the turn of the century. There Gandhi discovered it when he was a law student at Oxford. Carrying a copy with him, he reprinted and distributed it among his fellow Indians in the Union of South Africa. When he returned to his native land, he carried further copies with him and it soon became the bible of the nationalist movement. Every act of civil disobedience in India over the past quarter of a century, whether against the taboos of an outmoded and unjust religion or the tyrannies of an imperialistic government, has been inspired and directed by Henry Thoreau's little tract. The salt marches, the fasts, and the non-violent strikes are all practical applications of the theories of civil disobedience. While India has not yet achieved autonomy, Gandhi's campaign by no means failed. On the contrary, by winning countless victories over religious intolerance and injustice, it has brought the despotism of the British colonial system into the foreground of world consciousness so that England must now act or forever lose face with peoples the world around.

When Hitler overran the Continent, once again Thoreau's theories were put to good use. The people of the occupied countries had been demilitarized, and armed rebellion was hopeless against the invaders. They turned therefore to passive resistance in their campaign for freedom. In Denmark particularly, this method succeeded. When the Nazis ordered all Jews to wear a yellow star, King Christian threatened to don one too and the decree was voided. When the invaders attempted to make him a puppet, the king went into voluntary confinement and they were forced to deal directly with the peoples, rousing their resistance still further. When they missed seeing their king make his daily excursions through the city, the people blocked the roads to his palace with messengers delivering flowers. Wherever the Nazis turned, they were hampered by the passive resisters. It is not surprising then that Thoreau has become a major hero to the European Underground.

(Continued on page 131)

How to Live

Man's greatest scientific discovery threatens to destroy him unless he learns in time that



NO DEVELOPMENT IN HISTORY has had as wide publicity as the atomic bomb. Since Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Americans have had drummed into their ears insistently that "modern man is obsolete," that "we must revolutionize our thinking," and that another war would wipe out what we call civilization.

Yet in spite of all this, revolutionary thinking is still conspicuous by its absence. International diplomacy continues to function on a basis of power politics. The United States, in a strategic position because of its sole possession (at present) of the bomb, evades all proposals for world disarmament, abolition of conscription, and the relinquishment of national sovereignty to a world government. On the contrary, the Administration presses for peacetime conscription, conducts provocative bomb tests in the Pacific, and continues manufacturing atomic bombs twenty-four hours a day. And the rest of us, bewildered and angry and frightened, seek escape in a preoccupation with other matters and a professed boredom with discussions of the bomb.

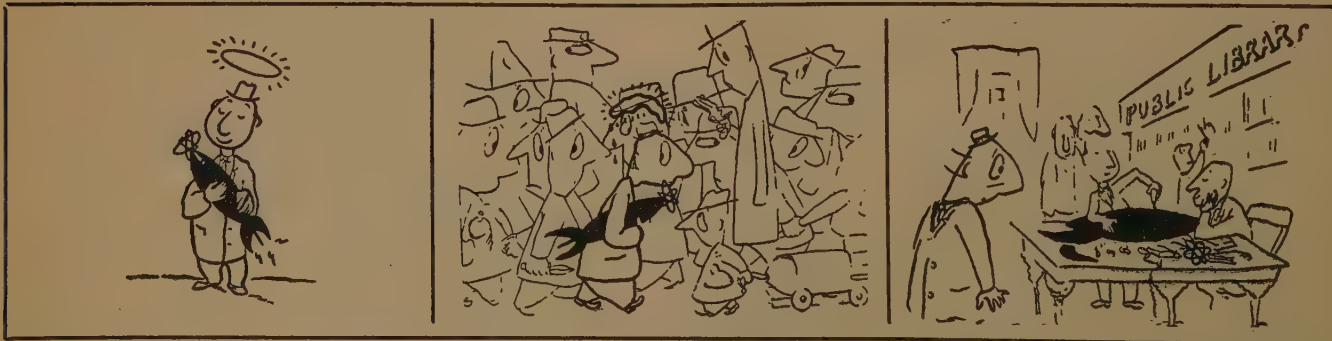
Actually the atomic bomb has *not* created the necessity for "revolutionizing" our thinking. That necessity has been present all along, spawned by the social and economic and political system that is the breeding ground for widespread injustice and wars. All that the bomb has done is to bring that necessity out of the indefinite Sometime into the very specific Now.

The bomb has not changed the pacifist argument, but

strengthened it. Pacifists have maintained all along not only that war is morally unjustifiable, but cumulatively futile and ultimately suicidal for civilization. It is not important that the atomic bomb was the weapon that provided the emphatic underlining for that position; the whole development of war-making had reached the point where some such totally destructive weapon was inevitable in the near future. Indeed, in terms of mass killing, at least two other recently announced weapons are respectable rivals of the bomb itself. Biological warfare has come to its full maturity in a "germ spray" developed by this country, which can be spread from high-flying airplanes and which can "wipe out large cities and entire crops at a single blow." And a by-product of atomic fission, an "atomic poison-gas," is equally deadly.

The reality of the world's dilemma can be comprehended only with the realization that none of these weapons in itself constitutes a threat to man's existence, but only the fact that men are willing to use them! This is the crux of the matter, and it discloses the problem as primarily spiritual, not technical or political. Morally, there is no difference between wiping out a hundred cities with atomic bombs and killing a thousand people with a "blockbuster" or ten with a machine gun. The Germans who died in the infernos of Hannover and Berlin are just as dead as Hiroshima's citizens who had the honor to be the first to perish of atomic explosions. And the men who dropped the blockbusters would have no more *moral* scruples over dropping atomic bombs or germ sprays.

What the atomic bomb has done is to prove beyond a doubt the bankruptcy of an entire set of values. It has demonstrated that war no longer can be considered profitable or safe for *anyone*, and by the same token it has demonstrated that the moral values underlying a social, economic, and political structure that breeds war *also are no longer profitable or safe for anyone!*



Here we are—the great, the good, the noble U. S., holding our atomic bomb, and with our halo perched at a becoming angle. How lucky for everybody that *we* own the bomb! Nobody fears *us*!

Or do they? The halo's wilting a little under those suspicious glances. And *look* at the weapons those other countries have! Maybe they're not as sure of our good intentions as we are!

Keeping the "secret" of the bomb would seem like a good idea, only the scientists say there *is* no secret, really. The vital information is common property already. No safety there!

with the Atom

the problem of control of atomic power is not primarily political or technical, but spiritual.

This is the "revolutionary" realization that must come to pass if we are to avoid the cosmic destruction in the making. This must be the focal-point of the pacifist's message to his fellow men. Palliatives will not work—"limitations" of armaments, "outlawry" of atomic weapons, "international police" to war against "aggressors." The world, through the individuals who make it up, must move now in the direction of genuine brotherhood. Only that way lie peace and safety.

The "Baruch" Plan

AS THIS ISSUE goes to press there is widespread applause for the Baruch proposal for the development of an international Atomic Development Authority, which would own all raw materials susceptible of transformation into atomic bombs and the plants where atomic energy is produced; would see to it that the plants were widely distributed; would encourage the development of peaceful uses of atomic energy; and *eventually* would control or eliminate all atomic weapons.

The eventual goal is so good that there is danger of overlooking the unsatisfactory and devious approach to it. For under this proposal, while all other nations would immediately turn over to the ADA all their deposits of uranium and thorium, and cease research in the field of atomic explosives, the United States *would continue to manufacture atomic bombs* and control the "know-how" of their manufacture until it was "satisfied" that control was complete. Even after surrender of the U. S. stockpile of bombs, this country would still possess this "know-how," which other nations would be forbidden even to attempt to discover, under threat of severe penalties. Americans need only ponder their own reactions if the positions of this country and Russia were reversed, to be able to predict the kind of reception the proposal will get.

About the Cartoons

The cartoons on these and succeeding pages are from a thirty-five mm. film strip produced by Film Publishers, Inc., in cooperation with the National Committee on Atomic Information. The 54 cartoons with accompanying script present the atomic bomb crisis effectively and interestingly. A few are reproduced here, with captions adapted from the script by permission of the publisher. They were drawn by Jack Delano.

The film strip, with script, sells for \$2.50. It is used in a 35-mm. strip-film (Picturol) projector. A recording of the script also is available (slow-moving, 33 r.p.m.) at \$5.

A. J. MUSTE WRITES

An Open Letter to Dr. Einstein

DR. ALBERT EINSTEIN

Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists
Princeton, New Jersey

My Dear Dr. Einstein:

All thinking persons will be grateful that you and your colleagues of the Emergency Committee are launching a nationwide campaign "to let the people know that a new type of thinking is essential" in this atomic age "if mankind is to survive and move toward higher levels."

Since the situation is so desperate, I am sure you will not take it amiss if I venture to suggest to the scientists who are in any way participating in making atomic bombs, or condoning such participation by others, that raising \$200,000 for meetings, printed propaganda, and lobbying is not the proper first step in such a campaign. Indeed, in the absence of a prior personal and moral act on the part of the scientists, it is a trivial and in effect—though not in intention—a dishonest thing to do.

The Federation of American Scientists, for example, on the day following your emergency appeal, said: "Scientists seek by education to teach men that they must abandon atomic weapons to preserve civilization."

How can scientists who are building a stockpile of atomic bombs "teach men that they must abandon atomic weapons to preserve civilization"? How can such scientists expect ordinary human beings to follow their leadership? These human beings are bound to conclude that the thing cannot be so serious after all, and a \$200,000 campaign will have as little effect on them as many much more expensive campaigns have had.

Your warning is addressed, and rightly so, to "those possessing power to make great decisions for good or evil" and you proclaim that "our modes of thinking" must be changed.

The atomic scientists, themselves, are still addicted to an old, hoary mode of thinking. The Federation of Atomic Scientists expressed it quite frankly—and apparently without shame—in their statement of May 26, 1946, already referred to. It is that in these matters we must submit to the guidance and orders of the military.

The reasoning runs like this: men must learn that atomic weapons will destroy civilization, and that there is no defense against them. But they have not yet learned these things. Therefore war preparation must go on and "the military have a mission, fantastic and shortsighted though it may seem to reasonable men." Accordingly, scientists are cooperating in the Bikini tests, "although they do so with heavy hearts and without enthusiasm."

(Continued on next page)

And since they are also—doubtless with heavy hearts and without enthusiasm—making bigger and better atomic bombs and thus terrorizing and provoking Russia and other nations into an atomic armament race, they will presently join in the atomic war which is the inevitable outcome. By that universal holocaust the mission of the military presumably will be accomplished: the survivors, if any, will know that civilization has been destroyed.

But surely for thinking men who try to assess the value of their experiments, a disquieting question arises. Will not the addiction to old modes of thinking and the fear which kept us in the atomic-bomb business inexorably drive these terrified and brutalized survivors to the conclusion that their only safety is in ruthless war, all possibility of an ordered world being obviously ruled out? Will not the military thus still have a mission, since war will be virtually the sole occupation of all human creatures?

You and your colleagues seek to draw a line between yourselves and these military. You speak of them as "fantastic and shortsighted" in the estimation of "reasonable men." Some of you have said even harsher things than this of General Groves and other military men. But plainly you are subservient to the military, as you were during those years when, without the knowledge of your fellow citizens, you made the first atomic bomb. The military say they must have atomic bombs, which will wreck civilization, and you make them! You are cogs in the same machine as they are. If you think there are not some of them who also work with heavy hearts and without enthusiasm, you are surely mistaken and lacking in the grace of humility. They have not changed their mode of thinking—the habit of command. You have not changed your mode of thinking—the habit of subservience to the military and to the State—when it comes to a showdown. In the final analysis, they practice the Fuehrer principle, and you submit to it.

Be it noted that all this takes place although the one excuse they and you might have advanced in the past, that the Nazis might get there first, no longer exists. We are now in a similar position to that of the Nazis, only more so. Other nations are confronted not with the fear that we may discover the atomic bomb, but with the fact that we have a stockpile of bombs, and that we did not refrain from using them on Japanese cities after we were certain that Germany had not gotten there first!

On the same day on which your emergency appeal was made, the Committee on International Peace of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, made a report in which it said, among other things: "We must stop making atomic bombs immediately" in order to remove

suspicion of us abroad and a false sense of security at home.

Is that not the logical and inescapable and right conclusion? And if the United States is to stop making atomic bombs, shall not the atomic scientists take the lead and refuse any longer to make them?

If you and Bethe, Condon, Szilar, Urey, and the American Federation of Scientists were to take that position, the American people would at last realize that you were deadly serious about the bomb, and they would be "frightened men and women" as you are. What is infinitely more important, they would be shaken out of moral lethargy and despair and would become capable of inspired action to abolish war and build a democratic society, because they would behold the spectacle of men who do not try to shift the responsibility for their actions on to the military or the State, and who refuse to make conscience subservient to the State. They would see men who understand

that if a nation loses its soul, it has lost all, even though it seem to have gained the world; men who fear God and who know, therefore, that it is far worse to make and drop atomic bombs on others than it is to have them dropped on you; who are also, therefore, delivered from fear, including the fear of fear which is driving men as if they were possessed of unclean spirits, to the edge of the precipice.

The entire history of Western civilization, rooted in the Hebrew-Christian tradition, which is now imperiled, testifies to the truth that it is such men who lose their lives and find them, and who incarnate in the moral and social sphere the power com-

parable to that of the atom in the physical. They and they alone, can quiet and stabilize the souls of their fellows, and stop the decay of civilization or build it anew when it has been shattered.

There is, as has often been pointed out, a deep cleavage in our souls and in our society because our moral and social development has not kept pace with technological advance. That cleavage must be healed first and basically within the morally responsible human being. It will be healed in the scientist who becomes a prophet—that is, a man who assumes responsibility for what he creates and what is done with it, a man whose words and actions are in true accord. "Mankind's destiny," as you say, "is being decided today—now—this moment." It is being decided by the scientists who take, or fail to take, upon themselves the awful responsibility of being prophets, conscientious objectors, persons, whole human beings, and not technicians or slaves, albeit heavy-hearted and unenthusiastic ones, of a war-making State.

Very sincerely yours,

A. J. MUSTE.

What Do YOU Think?

Pacifists in 1946 face a dilemma of vast proportions. Aware that the roots of war are anchored in economic and social injustices which in turn rest on an unlovely set of personal values, they must recognize the fact that the job of digging up those roots is ultimately a long, slow, evolutionary one of changing individuals. Yet simultaneously they must be aware that the threat of total destruction in atomic war lies in the immediate future—5—10—20 years away.

In such a situation, what is the function of the pacifist individual and organization? Do they "abandon" the world to its fate, and concentrate on preserving their witness through a coming "Dark Ages"? Do they join with world government forces to achieve a "stay of execution" in which to do the bigger job? Do they accept UN as the "best we can get" and try to strengthen it?

In the September issue of *Fellowship* a number of well-known pacifist leaders will give their answers to these questions in a symposium "The Pacifist Role in the Atomic Crisis." Readers are invited to participate—the best letters received will be included in the symposium. Letters must be limited to 200 words, and be received by *Fellowship* not later than August 1.

A prominent atomic scientist portrays in a grim one-act play the possible consequences of international competition in atomic armaments.

Pilot Lights of the Apocalypse

By LOUIS N. RIDENOUR

Nuclear physicist now working in the Radiation Laboratory of M.I.T.

THE CURTAIN RISES to disclose the operations room of the Western Defense Command, somewhere in the San Francisco area and a hundred feet underground. Two sergeants, RIGHT, are tending a row of teletype machines that connect the room with the world's principal cities. Two others, REAR, sit before a sort of telephone switchboard with key switches, lights, and labels representing the world's major cities. Behind them stands a captain. At a large desk, CENTER, sit a brigadier general and two colonels, all reading teletype messages. The wall, LEFT, has a sturdy barred door, a world map, and a framed motto: "Remember Pearl Harbor."

TIME: *Some years after all the industrialized nations have mastered the production and use of atomic power.*

BRIGADIER (*laying down the message he has been reading*): Nothing much tonight, I'd say. We'd better get tidied up a little. Captain Briggs!

CAPTAIN (*facing about and standing at attention*): Yes, sir.

BRIGADIER: Ready for company?

CAPTAIN: Yes, sir. I think so, sir.

BRIGADIER: See that the men look busy—on their toes and busy.

CAPTAIN: Yes, sir. (*A bell rings.*) Schwartz, you get the door. (*One of the sergeants crosses to the door and opens it. All stand rigidly at attention. A little confused, the sergeant goes through the formality of examining passes. He then admits a group of four: a four-star general, a major, and two civilians.*)

GENERAL: Carry on. (*The men relax. The General leads the two civilians over to the Brigadier and the Colonels. The Major takes up his station by the door. Nobody pays any attention to him.*) Mr. President, this is General Anderson, Watch Officer in charge of the Operations Room.

THE PRESIDENT: How do you do?

BRIGADIER: How do you do, sir? (*They shake hands.*)

GENERAL: Colonel Sparks and Colonel Peabody, Deputy Watch Officers on duty.

THE PRESIDENT: Glad to meet you both. (*They shake hands.*)

GENERAL: Dr. Thompson—General Anderson, Colonel Sparks, and Colonel Peabody. (*All nod and smile.*) Now, Mr. President, this is the nerve center of our counterattack organization for the western area. The teletype machines you see over there (*pointing*) are on radio circuits that connect us with our people in all the principal cities of the world, and with the other continental defense commands. The stations, and their statuses, are marked on the map. (*He gestures toward the map.*) We've just come from the defense center, where the radar plots are kept and the

The Play and the Author

"Pilot Lights of the Apocalypse" was first published in the January, 1946, issue of FORTUNE magazine, with the following introductory note:

Louis N. Ridenour wrote "Military Security and the Atomic Bomb" in the November, 1945 issue of FORTUNE, attacking the notion that the United States could achieve "security by concealment" of its scientific knowledge of atomic power. Since then the principle underlying his view seems to have been incorporated in Anglo-American policy. Dr. Ridenour, a nuclear physicist and a professor of physics at the University of Pennsylvania, went to M. I. T.'s Radiation Laboratory four years ago and helped develop radar weapons there. He believes that while "security by achievement" may determine any victory, the difference between victor and vanquished in a war fought with atomic power would be merely a few percentiles of obliteration. And he fears that such a war will be inescapable if there is an atomic-armaments race, since the slightest error, such as often occurs when men under great tension become trigger-happy, would touch off stupendous destruction.

Dr. Ridenour has not tried to write a fantasy; he has tried to put into the form of a grim playlet the sober conclusions to which he feels driven by knowledge of physics, weapons, and human behavior. His moral: we should do all that decently can be done to avoid an atomic-armaments race.

What that "all" may be, he does not, as a natural scientist, attempt to define. Further definition is the job of social scientists, statesmen, philosophers, and citizens.

The playlet is reprinted here by permission. Copyright, 1946, by TIME, INC. Permission to produce must be obtained from the author.

guns and fighters controlled. That's defense. But this is counterattack. Along that wall (*waving toward the rear*) is our control board. If you'll step over here, sir, I'll show you how it works.

THE PRESIDENT (*moving with the General toward the telephone switchboard against the back wall*): Defense and counterattack, eh? Why keep them separate?

GENERAL: Well, the defense has to move quickly, or it's no good at all. They don't have time to think. But counter-attack—well, counterattack has to move quickly, too. But we want them to have time to decide what they need to do. You can't tell just from the direction of the attack who launched it. An attack might be staged entirely by mines planted inside our borders, so there wouldn't be any direction connected with it. And then again, we have pretty good information that some other countries besides us have got bombs up above the stratosphere, 800 miles

above the earth, going round us in orbits like little moons. We put up 2,000 and we can see about 5,400 on our radar. Any time, somebody can call down that odd 3,400 by radio and send them wherever they want. There's no telling from trajectory which nation controls those bombs. What this all means is that the data these fellows here have to go on is mainly political. Radar doesn't do them any good. What they need is intelligence; and that's what comes in all the time, as complete and up-to-date as we can get it, on the teletypes. In the defense center, you saw scientists and technicians. The officers here are political scientists.

THE PRESIDENT: That's very interesting. Maybe you'll give me a job here if I ever need one. I'm a political scientist.

GENERAL (*laughing just enough*): Yes, sir!

THE PRESIDENT: General, you haven't told me what all these gadgets are for. (*He waves toward the switchboard.*)

GENERAL: No, sir, I haven't. This is our counterattack control board. You see that every station is marked with the name of a city. And every station has three pilot lights: red, yellow, and green.

THE PRESIDENT: All the green ones are on.

GENERAL: That's right, sir. We have unattended radio transmitters, each with three spares, in stations in every city covered on this board. If one of the transmitters goes on the blink, a spare is automatically switched on. But if all four transmitters in any station are destroyed, well, we lose the signal from that station. When that happens the green light goes out and the yellow light comes on.

THE PRESIDENT: How about the red light?

GENERAL: That comes on instead of the yellow when all our stations in the whole city go off the air. Yellow means partial destruction—red means substantially complete destruction.

THE PRESIDENT: And green means peace.

GENERAL: Yes, sir. But this isn't just a monitoring board. You see this key here.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

GENERAL: That sets off our mines. We have them planted in a great many cities, and the radio control circuit can be unlocked from here.

THE PRESIDENT: Is the whole world mined now?

GENERAL: Well, no. We haven't bothered much with Asia. And some countries are so hard to get into that coverage is spotty. Our schedule calls for completion of mine installations in two more years. But we have another card to play. You remember I told you about the satellite bombs—the ones that are circling around, 800 miles up?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

GENERAL: Well, this other key here will bring down on the city shown on the marker—we are looking at Calcutta—one of those satellite bombs every time it is pressed.

THE PRESIDENT: Is one of those bombs earmarked for each particular city?

GENERAL: No, sir. The bomb that happens to be in the most favorable location at the time this key is pressed is the one brought down. It might be any one of the whole 2,000.

THE PRESIDENT: This is all damned clever.

GENERAL: We have Dr. Thompson to thank for most of it. His people worked out all the technical stuff. All the Army has to do is man the installations and watch the intelligence as it comes along.

DR. THOMPSON: Good of you to say that, General. But seriously, Mr. President, as people pointed out soon after the first atomic bomb was dropped, there isn't any other nation with the industrial know-how to do a job like this.

THE PRESIDENT: It is very impressive, I must say. Are the other Defense Commands equipped the same way?

GENERAL: Yes, sir. As a matter of fact, to guard against accidents, each Defense Command has two complete operations rooms like this, either one of which can take full control if the other is destroyed.

THE PRESIDENT: We've kept ahead in the armaments race. Who'd dare attack us when we're set up like this?

DR. THOMPSON: Surely nobody would. I don't think you need to expect any trouble.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, this has all been very interesting. (*To the Brigadier*) General, have you had any exciting times here you can tell me about?

BRIGADIER: Yes, sir. Every time a meteorite comes down—a shooting star, you know—our radar boys track it, shoot it down, and send us in an alert. We have a few bad moments until we get the spectrographic report. If it's iron and nickel—and it always has been so far—we know God sent it, and relax. Someday it'll be uranium, and then we'll have to push a button. Or plutonium.

THE PRESIDENT: How many shooting stars have you shot?

COLONEL SPARKS: (*laughing politely*): We get an average of twelve a month. In August it's the worst, of course. The Perseids, you know.

THE PRESIDENT (*puzzled*): Iran. . . ?

BRIGADIER (*hastily*): No, sir. The Perseid meteors. Named after Perseus. Astronomers are a classical bunch.

THE PRESIDENT (*recovering*): Oh, sure. (*Turning to the Colonels*) Gentlemen, how do you like this job?

COLONEL SPARKS: We have a feeling of grave responsibility.

THE PRESIDENT: The fate of nations is in your hands. But always remember that our nation is the most precious.

BOTH COLONELS (*awed*): Yes, sir.

GENERAL: Well, Mr. President, we've fallen a little behind our schedule. They'll be waiting for us at the mess.

THE PRESIDENT: All right, General, let's get along. General Anderson, Colonel Sparks, Colonel Peabody, I've enjoyed very much seeing your installation. Keep on your toes. We're all depending on you.



There's no defense against atomic bombs, they tell us. Not one V-2 bomb was shot down in the war. Think of V-2—or maybe V-3 or V-4—bombs with atomic warheads!

GENERAL AND COLONELS (together): Yes, sir.

(Schwartz goes over, opens the door, and stands stiffly at attention as the visitors file out amid a general chorus of "Goodby" and "Goodby, sir." Schwartz closes the door. The Brigadier and Colonels sit at their desks.)

BRIGADIER: Well, that's that. The Old Man gave him a good story; I couldn't have done better myself.

COLONEL SPARKS (still in the clouds): He is depending on us.

BRIGADIER: Don't take it too hard. All we're supposed to do is make the other guy sorry. We can't save any lives or rebuild any cities. Never forget what those buttons do.

COLONEL SPARKS: Just the same, sir, I'm glad I was born an American. We've got the know-how. I'm glad I'm on the side that's ahead in the race.

COLONEL PEABODY (disgusted): Sparks, you talk like a damn high-school kid. For this job, you're supposed to have some good sense and detachment.

(Just then, there is a dull rumble. The floor and the walls of the room shake, and a couple of sizable chunks of concrete fall out of the ceiling. The lights go out, except for the green ones on the control board. Emergency lights, dimmer than the regular ones, come on at once. All the men are on their feet.)

BRIGADIER: Good God! What was that? (Recollecting himself) Peabody, get on the phone to headquarters. Sparks, get out the red-line messages for the last twenty-four hours. Captain, anything from the defense center?

CAPTAIN: My line to them seems to be out, sir.

BRIGADIER: What have you got for status? Anybody showing yellow or red?

CAPTAIN: San Francisco is red, sir.

COLONEL SPARKS (riffing wildly through teletype messages): This must be it. San Francisco! (Screaming) San Francisco gone!

BRIGADIER: Shut up, Sparks. Take it easy. (To Peabody) Can't you get headquarters?

COLONEL PEABODY: The line is dead. I can't get reserve operations, either. Maybe this is the real thing.

COLONEL SPARKS (still half-hysterical): We better do something. Remember what it says in the book: counter-attack must take action before the enemy's destruction of our centers is complete.

BRIGADIER: First we need an enemy. Who's got the highest negative rating in the latest State Department digest?

COLONEL PEABODY (who has quietly taken the messages from in front of Sparks): Denmark, sir. But it's well below the danger point. All we've got is this: (reading) COPENHAGEN 1635 HOURS 22 JANUARY. WIDESPREAD DISAPPROVAL OF WILLIAMS FOUNTAIN, STATUARY GROUP PRESENTED THE KING OF DENMARK BY U. S., BEING SHOWN BY PEOPLE COPENHAGEN. FOUNTAIN BEEN PELTED VEGETABLES BY HOODLUM GROUPS THREE OCCASIONS. FORMAL PROTEST STATING STATUE INSULTS KING RECEIVED FROM ROYAL ACADEMY ART IN FOLLOWING TERMS QUOTE . . . and so on. Nothing there, I'd say.

COLONEL SPARKS: Nothing there! San Francisco's in ruins, you damn fool, and we're sitting here like three warts on a pickle. All that over a lousy set of statues. I say let 'em have it.

BRIGADIER (to Peabody): Is that the hottest you've got?

COLONEL PEABODY: Yes, sir. I don't think it could have

been Denmark. Though that sculptor, Williams, does live in San Francisco.

BRIGADIER: We better wait and be sure. Captain, how are your lines now?

COLONEL SPARKS (with rising hysteria): What have we got this stuff for if we don't use it? My God, didn't you hear what the President said? He's depending on us; they're all depending on us. If you haven't got the guts, I have. (Before he can be stopped, he rushes to the control board and shoves a sergeant to the floor. Peabody is after Sparks in a flash. He pulls him around and knocks him to the floor. Sparks's head hits hard, and he lies still.)

COLONEL PEABODY: General, he did it! Copenhagen showing red!

SERGEANT (at a teletype): Sir, here's a message from the defense center. They've got their line working again. (He tears it off and brings it to the Brigadier.)

CAPTAIN: Stockholm's gone red, sir.

COLONEL PEABODY: Sure. The Danes thought it was the Swedes. That export-duties row.

BRIGADIER: And the Swedes have got two hot arguments on their hands. They'll take the British, too, just to be sure. The British soak the Russians, and then we're next. (He reads the message he has been holding, and drops into a chair.) My God! Peabody, that was an earthquake. Epicenter right smack in San Francisco.

CAPTAIN: London's gone red, sir. And Edinburgh, and Manchester, and Nottingham, and—

COLONEL PEABODY: Dark Ages, here I come. It's a pity the Security Council didn't have time to consider all this.

BRIGADIER: Peabody, you're beginning to sound a little like Sparks. Come to think of it, there was nothing wrong with him but too much patriotism and too little sense. Captain, we probably can't pull this out of the fire but we've got to try. Send a message on all circuits. (The Captain sits down at a teletype keyboard.)

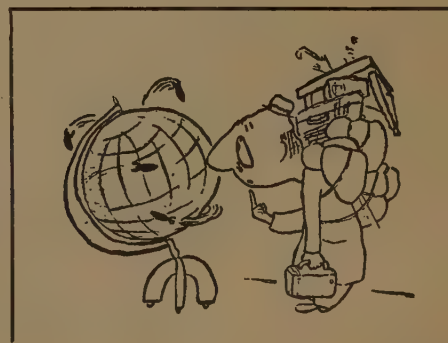
CAPTAIN: Ready, sir.

BRIGADIER: To all stations: URGE IMMEDIATE WORLD-WIDE BROADCAST THIS MESSAGE: DESTRUCTION COPENHAGEN 1910 HOURS THIS DATE INITIATED BY THIS STATION THROUGH GRIEVOUS ERROR. ATTACKS MADE SINCE BASED ON IDEA DESTRUCTION COPENHAGEN WAS ACT OF WAR, WHICH IT WAS NOT REPEAT NOT. URGE ATTACKS BE STOPPED UNTIL SITUATION CAN BE CLARIFIED. THERE IS NO REPEAT NO WAR. END.

COLONEL PEABODY (who has been watching board): The hell there isn't. New York's gone red, and Chicago, and . . . (The room rocks, the lights go out. With a dull, powerful rumble, the roof caves in.)

CURTAIN

If you're thinking of running away to an uninhabited island, forget it. No place on earth is out of range of the atomic bomb. Besides, the bombs might make the whole earth uninhabitable.



Our occupation forces are supposed to be creating a democracy for the Japanese people, but let's look behind the news.

MacArthur's Japan

By THEODORE D. WALSER

Secretary, New York FOR. Former missionary to Japan

NEWS FROM JAPAN now has gone to the inner pages of our dailies; the average American has dismissed it from his mind with the thought that "MacArthur is doing a pretty good job." What we do read seems to bear out this impression. "MacArthur is a godsend to Japan and to the world," "the present policy of the occupation is designed to create a new and better Japan," "revolution by consent," and similar expressions predominate. In a recent publication with one chapter of recommendations, but one-half page is given to practical relief and reconstruction.¹

However, one British correspondent wrote, "There is a glaring gap between reality in Japan as I saw it and the slick, clever, self-congratulatory tone of the news. . . . A variety of indirect pressures have been used to keep newsmen 'playing ball.'"²

What, then, are the facts?

General MacArthur, on February 7, 1945, sent a telegram to the late President Roosevelt, indicating that the Japanese were ready to surrender provided the monarchy could be retained.³ This appeal from the Japanese was ignored, an obliteration bombing raid on Tokyo in March annihilated 100,000 civilians, and last summer atom bombs showed Japan that further resistance meant annihilation. Not the least amazing of the results were the unprecedented steps taken by the Emperor. He spoke over the radio, surrendering for his people; he appointed a member of the Imperial Household as Premier; and he called upon General MacArthur in person. The surrender was abject and sincere. With equal honesty, General MacArthur showed rare good sense in announcing that he would work through the prerogatives of the Emperor.

With surrender, the long days and nights of tension and fear passed for the Japanese. The release from suspense brought about a temporarily abnormal psychological situation, where former "enemies" were welcomed as "liberators," but statements made at that time must be read in the light of "after-defeat" psychology. Sir George Sansom has stated that "the Japanese feel they were deceived about the war." That is true, and it goes for Germans, Americans, Britishers, and others. To add to the peacefulness of the scene the GIs, after the surrender, relaxed when they found they were able to go about Japan unarmed and unharmed. (The "fraternization" went so far that one Japanese newspaper prophesied that, by the end of June, fourteen thousand illegitimate Eurasian babies will have

been born!) The mutual tolerance and moderation displayed reveal fundamentally the inherent decency of the average man, American or Japanese.

Psychological Warfare

But gratifying as this may be, it is not the outstanding characteristic of the situation. The fact is that, while the shooting war has ended, the imperialism and psychological and economic warfare continue.

Much newspaper space has been given to the new "democracy" granted by MacArthur, but students of politics may well look askance at it. Legislation for democracy imposed by a foreign victor is as impossible as legislation for morality was back in prohibition days. The present Japanese government is only a puppet government. It is difficult to see how grass-roots democracy can thrive in such soil. Ninety per cent of the former government leaders have been disqualified by an Allied purge directive. One can visualize what would happen to our government if ninety per cent of the men who had supported the war were disqualified.

"Freedom" has been given lip service by the conquerors, but no implementation. Movies have been purged. Two thousand war criminals have been arrested.⁴ They are being tried not by their peers but by a foreign "packed" jury. One of the first arguments of the defense was that the persons charged should be tried by the canons of international law that prevailed at the time of the "crimes." To which the prosecution answered that the "surrender" was "unconditional"! The National Broadcasting Company on June 15 reported that six Americans of the defense had resigned and "would urge a Congressional investigation of the trial."

News has been banned. Newspapers have had to submit to censorship. Buildings in Osaka, Nagoya, and Tokyo are given over to control of the Japanese press. Is this "freedom of the press"?

We have paid lip service to "freedom of worship," but on December 15 last banned State Shintoism, which, while not officially a religion, was the only religion in fact for many Japanese.

The International Educational Organization has emphasized repeatedly the need for unbiased history to be taught in the schools. Illustrations have come in as to ways in which Japanese history is to be rewritten. For example, this statement is to be expunged from a sixth-grade history book: "During the war the United States grieved to see our naval forces advance into the South Pacific. The East Asia ambitions of the U. S. had become increasingly

¹ *The Return to Japan*, Friendship Press.

² *The Call*, January 21, 1946.

³ Constantine Brown of the *Washington Evening Star*.

⁴ *Nippon Times*, November 9, 1945.

greater with the opening of the Panama Canal. The world's eyes turned from Europe to the Pacific." And this paragraph is to be expunged from a middle-school reader: "European countries illegally invaded old and small Asiatic, African, and Pacific countries, occupying regions in which sovereignty was not established. They took possession of these places, treating them as colonies, leased territories and protectorates, hardly leaving an inch of land anywhere in the world not sacrificed to their greed." From the viewpoint of unbiased history, are these not facts that all school children should learn?

Americans are given to understand that if they wish to remain in Japan they must not oppose Allied policy. One American was rebuked for saying publicly that Americans at home wanted the Emperor retained, and the Japanese newspaper that carried the statement was censored!

One of the most fantastic results of the present attempt to Americanize Japan was the new Japanese constitution, made public on March sixth. Readers were puzzled when they read in Chapter Two, Article IX, "War, as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force, is forever renounced . . . The maintenance of land, sea, and air forces . . . will never be authorized . . ." Overnight, apparently, the Japanese people, castigated only a few months before as being on a level with apes, had been converted by American occupation into the only nation on earth to renounce war for all time!

It may be that it is the will of God that the United States of America, stronger than any other nation, voluntarily should renounce war and save the world from conscription, armament races, and war. But that Japan, defeated, disarmed, and helpless, should be forced to write such a plank into her constitution by a directive of the occupying army of the United States, which does not in the least propose to follow the same principles, is one of the great, tragic jokes of history!

It was to be expected that the Japanese would protest. The protest has come from no less an authority than Dr. Tatsukichi Minobe, foremost authority in Japan on constitutional law. He designated the constitution as "noble," but called it "unfair to Japan." He said, "Japan's existence without an army, navy, or air force will be perpetually menaced unless other nations follow her example . . ."

As a long-time resident of Japan, I should welcome no development in the realm of politics more heartily than such a renunciation of war by that country, even though it were unilateral, *if* it were done by the uncoerced, free choice of the Japanese people. This is not the case. In fact, Lindsay Parrott reports, "Rightly or wrongly, it (the constitution) is universally supposed to be American written." Further, a former CIC Army man from Tokyo reports that the constitution was written by General MacArthur, as his "contribution to history."

As though the humiliation of a proud people had not been completed, General MacArthur on February 19

"turned back Japan's clock forty-seven years,"⁵ by re-establishing extra-territoriality. Not since 1899 have the Japanese suffered the indignity of having foreigners resident there removed from the provisions of their national law.

And how is the principle enunciated in the Atlantic Charter—"the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live"—being implemented in Japan? A leading New York daily on April 10 carried the headline, "First Free Vote Since 1932," in describing the recent elections. Was it free? We do not know. However, we do know that H. B. Hinton reported that General MacArthur "reminded the commission (Far Eastern Commission) that he could, and would, dissolve any Diet produced by the elections if its continued existence would be disadvantageous to the occupation."

Does this seem to be the way "to win friends and influence people" in Japan and to undergird the future with peace and justice? On the contrary it is psychological warfare. A portent of this, in a symbolical sense, was pre-saged in the suicide of Prince Konoye. Often regarded as anti-Nazi, anti-militarist, and pro-American, in April 1941 he made a proposition to meet President Roosevelt any time and anywhere the latter might designate. The meeting never took place. In spite of his clearcut peacemaking attitude, Konoye was pointed out as a probable "war criminal." His self-immolation indicated how utterly futile he thought "justice" would be at the "trials."



Maybe you like the pastoral life, but you wouldn't like it after an atomic war. Real primitive it would be, and with bands of hungry desperadoes willing to kill for a half-gnawed bone.

Economic Warfare

Another section of the Atlantic Charter declares: "They will endeavor . . . to further enjoyment by all states, great and small, victor or *vanquished*, of access on *equal terms*, to the trade and to the raw materials . . ." (*italics mine*). Do the Japanese have this "enjoyment"?

Due to the war and inescapably linked with its effects, Japan lost her colonies, the struggle for which had been one of the causes of the war. But even before the war, while she was exploiting her colonies, there was great economic stress in the home islands, because, while more than 50 per cent of her people were agriculturists, only 17 per cent of the volcanic soil was arable. A British economist, Grey, in 1927 demonstrated that the average Japanese farmer had .9 of an acre to till while the American had 31.9 acres. Today Army officers tell us it is the purpose of the Army of Occupation to reduce Japan to her pre-1895 economic status. As the *New York Times*⁶ put it, "The land available in Japan is inadequate to provide more than five million families with anything but a meager livelihood." Rice and fish have been the "meat and potatoes" of the common man. The rice crop is 23 per cent less than the average for the past five years, and the smallest in the last 36 years. In the first four months after

⁵ *New York Times*, February 20, 1946.

⁶ March 19, 1946.

the surrender, the Japanese government in desperation submitted six requests for the extension of fishing areas allocated by GHQ. Four were denied. In February a directive was issued to the Japanese, restricting fishing to coastal waters. The reason, as given by one correspondent, was "security." One wonders against whom GHQ needs "security."

In the realm of domestic finance, the pattern was set six months ago with the seizure of Japan's twenty-one principal banking institutions. Three of these, according to Col. Ray C. Kramer, were to be permitted to continue operations under certain restrictions and conditions; the other eighteen were destined to "permanent liquidation." Complete economic control by GHQ was imposed through a directive prohibiting all financial, business, or commercial communications, except with permission. Business concerns are forbidden to conduct any transaction in foreign currency. "The order prevents Japanese financial interests from even communicating with their correspondents . . . abroad," as one New York newspaper put it.

Edwin W. Pauley, U. S. Reparations Commissioner, has recommended that Japan be stripped of all assets abroad and all chemical, steel, and shipbuilding capacity; that "all the nation's gold and precious metals be sent to San Francisco to be held pending decisions"; and that confiscation be set up to deprive the Japanese of all holdings outside Japan's home islands. "All Japanese financial and economic penetration of other countries must be wiped out," said Mr. Pauley. The National Engineers Committee on June 12 recommended further drastic limitations on industrial progress.

There was at first some difference of opinion between British and American authorities regarding the "family" holding companies, but in February this was resolved and the continuation of the *zaibatsu* prohibited. This has the effect of dissolving the Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Yasuda, and other holding companies. One can imagine what would happen in the United States if such groups as Standard Oil, U. S. Steel, and Ford were to be dissolved without a socialized industry to take over!

At whose door the blame for the economic strangulation of Japan can be laid is not clear. General MacArthur is supreme commander, but repeated reports come through that although opposed to what is happening, he can do nothing since he, too, receives directives. A study issued in February by the Department of Commerce shows that the elimination of Japan as a leading exporting country will stimulate the industrialization of other countries and "foster the foreign trade of the United States." Was this one of the purposes of the war from our side? At any rate the seeds of another war are being sown and American democracy is being identified, in the eyes of Japan and the Far East, with famine and exploitation.

What Are the Results?

The total result in Japan is terrific. Theft, hoarding, smuggling, inflation (the yen—at par fifty cents—is sometimes quoted at one cent in value), black market, orphan bands, and food riots prevail. Children are living under temple verandas and robbing the graves of the food offerings to ancestors. Ex-soldiers are trading their highly prized medals for food. People are eating garbage and, in one city, trucks are required to carry off the dead bodies collected from the streets. A group of GIs (Japanese-Americans) recently were gently mobbed in Hibiya Park, Tokyo, and implored to use their influence to get food through to Japan from outside. GHQ in Japan is charged with having sent March food stocks to Sapporo, Sendai, and other areas where American troops are stationed, the idea being "to prevent absolute starvation where food riots are likely to disturb Americans and let the Japanese elsewhere *starve quietly, bothering only their own authorities*" (italics mine).⁷

What should be done? Two steps are here proposed:

1. *Food, clothing, medicines, and relief of all kinds should be sent at once and in large quantities.* "Before the next harvest, millions of Japanese . . . may be dead from starvation."⁸ A basis for peace can be laid only if the hungry are fed.

2. *Occupation should be terminated at the earliest possible juncture.* A serious stalemate seems to have been created between the non-American representatives on the

Allied Council and the American supreme commander. The Council seems without power and is bound by a formula, defined by Maj. Gen. W. F. Marquat, General MacArthur's deputy, and described in the words of *The New York Times*⁹ as follows: "If the Council members insist on presenting items in the form of charges against General MacArthur or his conduct of the occupation they may expect to have Supreme Headquarters officials reply vigorously and at such length that no other Council business will be possible over long periods." Is this the threat of a filibuster to preserve sacrosanct unilateral American control?



Only by working together—Russians and Americans and British and Chinese and all the rest—can we end the threat to all of us. That's the alternative—work together or perish!

The Japanese papers have been saying that by summer the last of the Eighth Army would be getting home, leaving only officers and those attached to GHQ for administrative purposes. This seems to be optimistically early, but even though later than the summer, it is a good start toward the real freedom and independence for the Japanese people which are the warp and woof of peace.

No August Fellowship

This twice-as-big July issue will be the last until September, so the office staff can catch up on changes of addresses.

⁷ Burton Crane, *The New York Times*, March 20, 1946.

⁸ Lt. J. Asmead in the *Atlantic Monthly*, April, 1946.

⁹ April 20, 1946.

The alarming significance of world food shortages is highlighted by this scientific study of the physical and psychological effects of starvation.

How It Feels to Be Starved

By PAUL H. BOWMAN and HAROLD GUETZKOW

From April 20 to October 20, 1945, thirty-six conscientious objectors served as voluntary guinea pigs in an experiment at the University of Minnesota, to determine the effects of starvation on human beings. During the six months, their diet consisted of a monotonous menu of 1,700 calories daily: potatoes, turnips, rutabagas, dark bread, and macaroni.

Observations of the physical and psychological deterioration experienced by the COs on their restricted diet furnished scientific information of inestimable value for relief feeding in hunger-ridden areas of the world. Testifying before a Senate Committee considering legislation to permit the sending of food to ex-enemy countries, Charles Smith, one of the Minnesota "guinea pigs," said that some men lost up to 40 per cent of their weight, three-fourths of their ability to do physical work, and that psychological effects were even worse.

This diet of 1,700 calories daily compares with an average diet in the U. S. of approximately 3,300 calories, highest of any country in the world, and 14 per cent more than in pre-war years. Our army men get from 3,800 to 5,000 calories. UNRRA estimates that Europe's standard diet at present ranges from 800 to 1,500 calories! [The Nazi policy of supplying a diet of 800 calories in the Bel-sen concentration camp shocked the world when it became known.]

Results of the Minnesota experiment show that rehabilitation requires a caloric content of 4,000 calories, and at least a year's time. "It's nonsense," said Dr. Ancel Keys, director of the experiment, "to think you can starve people and make them believe in the four freedoms at the same time . . . To talk about . . . the will of the people when you aren't feeding them is perfect hogwash."

This account of the Minnesota experiment by two professional observers taken from the book "On Men and Hunger" to be published this month by the Brethren Service Committee, shows what happens to the body and mind when people experience real hunger. It carries alarming implications of what is happening in Europe and Asia today.

IN NORMAL LIVING there is an ebb and flow among the drives and impulsions, first one dominating, then another. Starvation upsets this pleasant balancing process until the hunger drive gradually dominates the person's activities and thoughts, with concomitant lessening of other drives.

Hunger differs radically from the delightful nuances of appetite, but normal folks seldom clearly separate the two, since they never have experienced the depth and omnipresence of dull, gnawing hunger pains induced by the body consuming itself, as leg and arm tissues waste away.

Individuals on starvation rations are caught between a desire to gulp down their food and to consume the prize possession slowly and covetously in order to appreciate to the full the flavor and odor of each morsel. Some of our thirty-six grown men licked their plates to avoid waste; others dawdled for two hours over a meal they had previously consumed in twenty minutes. Many of the men toyed with their food, making weird and seemingly distasteful concoctions. Cold macaroni sandwiches were prepared by some men to tide them over the long mid-day stretch which extended from early morning until the evening meal. But the thought that there was a sandwich in one's pocket was excruciating, and often a man would break his best resolutions and jealously eat it, basking in the exquisite aroma which hung to the cold macaroni.

Sexual urges gradually decreased. It was the rare individual who continued dating women to the end of the starvation. Budding romances collapsed, and some men wondered how they could have been so interested in *that* girl. One fellow's girl friend visited him from a distant city during the low days of starvation and found his display of affection disappointingly shallow. His reservoir of affectional responses was drying up.

The tendency toward spontaneous activity, universally present in healthy adults, was notably lacking. Instead the men felt tired and weak. The urge to get up and do something simply was not there. They no longer took two steps at a time going upstairs; dancing gave way to movies for entertainment. Men seldom fatigued in a healthy way but felt old and stuporous.

Behavioral Consequences

Their strength reduced 50 per cent or more, the men became discouraged over their inability to share in any and every physical task. A man knew undeniably that he was losing ground, becoming debilitated. His mirror showed him an ugly, bony, drawn face. Gawkish ribs and bulging collarbone were uncomfortable. Sitting on wooden furniture tortured him, for his "cushions" had changed into bony buttocks. Attempts to tan himself in the sun failed to remove the pallor that masked his face. He was ashamed of himself and his baggy clothes.

"Blacking out" or fainting when he moved too quickly, falling on his face because a stair or sidewalk crack tripped him, or bumping a companion in his unsteady walking—all these advancing results of starvation annoyed him.

Poor circulation caused his limbs to go to "sleep," and a one-degree drop in body temperature made it impossible to keep warm in bed, regardless of the number of blankets he used. Whenever possible, he found a soft rocker near a radiator and just whiled away the time.

Coinciding with this motivational apathy, the emotional

response of the individual dulled and concomitant depression set in. Men lost their sense of humor. They did not sing or whistle; music failed to bring its former warmth. Lack of conversation at mealtimes was the result of dejection; the men lacked the spark that fires an outwardgoingness.

They were not interested in the ideas and activities of others, except as related to getting food. Gloom permeated their relationships. Smiles were infrequent; the saddened faces grew longer each week as hunger gave way to more hunger. Men saw the negative side of things more than ever before. Discouragement and lack of confidence often followed in the wake of their encounters with the real world.

Superficially, the increased irritability of the semi-starved men contradicts the generalization that they were apathetic. Nevertheless, the two characteristics existed side by side. Overpowering frustration existed in the very fabric of their personalities because of the constant food deprivation, and seemed to dictate their behavior in other areas. Petty defeats became very important, often the source of great irritation.

Standing in line at the cafeteria before being served produced explosive conduct. Indecisiveness on the part of the servers often gave rise to the suspicion that perhaps the cooks did not know what the ration really should be. Men blew up at each other over mannerisms that formerly went unnoticed. One man talked too loudly, another with too much affectation! During the worst times, certain men even refused to sit with each other at the dining-room tables. One man firmly ordered another to "get the hell out of here."

Likewise, the technical and administrative personnel conducting the experiment drew its share of fire. One man commented in a letter to a friend, "I'm so hungry I could eat anything, starting on the fat staff!" Annoyed at seeing the staff eat their lunches, the men's irritation increased when the staff tried to conceal the fact that they were eating. "There he sat, fat, hiding his lunch, while the aroma from his orange still permeated the air," complained one fellow.

Although usually silent and sad, the men occasionally became elated or felt "high." Periods of elation often lasted a few days but never very long. By contrast, the discouraging letdown accentuated the next low period. One of the men, finally eliminated from the experiment because of his inability to keep the dietary restrictions, underwent severe alternations between despondency and euphoria. One night when he lost control of himself, he stopped at seventeen drugstores on a hike from the edge of town to the laboratory, having an uproariously good time at each soda fountain. This feeling degenerated into one of extreme pessimism and remorse; he felt he had nothing to live for, that he had miserably failed to keep his commitment to stay on restricted rations.

Although these men had no more social reasons for

insecurity during starvation than during previous months, a number of them experienced anxiety and insecurity reactions. For instance, one man wanted to have a little money in the bank; just having it there made him feel more at ease. Another's anxiety expressed itself as a restless feeling of wanting to go somewhere—he didn't know where.

In general, the emotional changes which took place were a combination of shallowness of emotion (the depression component), and lack of control with the resultant escape into emotional responses and unwarranted anxiety.

One of the more profound changes was the increased unsociability of the men. The few who managed to continue their social contacts often felt animosity toward strangers, merely because they were strangers. The men

built up a tremendous in-group feeling, excluding their non-starving friends, the administrative and technical staff. They felt apart from all well-fed persons, especially those who supposed they knew what it was like to be hungry because they had gone without food for a couple of days. When the laboratory staff gave "too much" food to some men and restricted the rations of others, they thought it criminal even though they clearly understood that the experimental plan demanded such adjustments in rations.

Conversation with outsiders as well as among themselves degenerated in quality and lost its sparkle; they were a tired, dead

group of men. They could not think of things to say, and really "didn't give a dam if they were bores." Humor, so often used to ease tensions arising in normal social situations, was lacking in these starving men. They could not pull quips nor make light of things.

Three of the men were unable to remain voluntarily on the restricted diet to the end. Deteriorations of their ethical control was all the more remarkable because they had shown themselves to be sincere and well-integrated throughout their two or more years of Civilian Public Service experience. Earlier vitamin experiments, conducted with conscientious objectors, had not once revealed evidence of any violation of dietary regimens. But the semi-starvation pressure of hunger was too much; their very beings revolted against the restriction.

Although fasting supposedly quickens one spiritually, none of the men reported significant progress in their religious lives. Most of them felt that the semi-starvation had coarsened rather than refined them. They marveled at how thin their moral and social veneers seemed to be.

Changes in Intellectual Capacity

Psychological measurements of intellectual ability showed no substantial change in this area. However, some deteriorations had side reactions in the intellectual area. Intensive preoccupation with food made it difficult for a man to concentrate upon the intellectual tasks he set for himself. Study soon gave way to day-dreaming about food—food he had eaten in the past, opportunities he had missed to eat a certain food when he was at this or that place. He would day-dream by the hour about the next meal:

Herrenvolk

Americans "must be fed, not subsistence rations, but enough to keep an energetic nation energetic. The humanitarians must not be permitted to get out of hand. . . . There is a huge battle of self-preservation going on in this world, and there are no peoples more worthy of preserving than our own Americans."

—*Chicago Daily Drovers Journal.*

Today we'll have menu No. 1. Gee, that's the smallest menu, it seems. How shall I fix the potatoes? If I use my spoon to eat them I'll be able to add more water. Haven't had my toast yet today. Maybe I should have some for a midnight snack with a friend. What kind of sandwich could I make? Maybe I'd better write these ideas down, so I don't forget them. If I eat a little faster the food would stay warm longer—and I like it warm. But then it's gone so quickly . . .

About half the group collected cookbooks and recipes. One starving engineer made a study of frozen-food lockers. Other men became intensely interested in the physiology of nutrition.

Because of this all-pervasive thought about food, the men showed little capacity for original ideas. Some attempted to experiment with manual types of activity, but even in these the men showed little persistence. Some took up smoking to "kill their hunger," but it did not. Others drank excessive amounts of water to give them a "full" feeling. Before the laboratory prohibited the use of chewing gum, men indulged in "chain-chewing," consuming twenty to thirty packages a day, until their mouths ached and became sore.

Rationalization took hold of the men. Thus in the laboratory kitchen, fingers were "accidentally" placed in a bit of gravy left on a plate, because the men "knew" such a little bit would not really hurt. Before the laboratory staff was aware of the terrific temptation involved, some men had been assigned as dish-washers in a kitchen used by other groups at different hours. One of the men grabbed a piece of sweet potato from the garbage pail "just to taste," rationalizing that one such taste could not possibly upset the results of his restricted diet. Within a few minutes he weakened again, and so on until he had nibbled away all of it.

Decisions came very hard to those on starvation diet. Out walking, a man could not make up his mind which corner to take. Little matters, in which decisions are usually inconsequential, become major matters of deliberation with all the torment that overtakes a person unable to choose between alternatives. This abulia also was reflected in the men's indecisiveness about word choices in their conversation.

Rehabilitation

One of the men very aptly characterized the difference between starvation and rehabilitation as the difference between old age and adolescence. The starving men understood old people and why they enjoyed merely "sitting." During rehabilitation each man re-lived adolescence, a period of great awakening. His increased strength was wonderful, though his movements were clumsy and uncoordinated. Life experiences had a new freshness about them; he appreciated things so much more than ever before. He found great joy in being able to work, in turning out a product of which he felt proud. And slowly his sex urges again made his association with girls enjoyable.

Psychological improvements seemed to be induced more speedily than the physical, but often the men had great difficulty in distinguishing between their "normal" and "semi-starvation" reactions.

The energy level increased before the controls on emotional responses were re-established. Thus, during the first

weeks of rehabilitation, irritability and criticism were much greater, and their expression more boisterous. Along with a general decrease in egocentricity, the men's aggressiveness was directed outward, often lighting upon the administrative personnel. In general, recovery during rehabilitation was a halting process, two steps ahead and one step backwards. The fluctuations in mood of the individuals were greater at the beginning of rehabilitation than they had ever been in semi-starvation.

Conclusion

Despite the very important and radical changes which occurred in these starving men, their basic personality structures remained. They were still very much identifiable; their idiosyncracies were still present. One had the feeling that they were men torn by stress and not as well knit as formerly. Starvation roughened them and widened the chasms in their integrations. *They were men who postponed their living while they endured the awful present.*

The Problem of the Pure in Heart

(Continued from page 118)

As a general principle in our times, emphasis upon the subjective seems to be tied up with inability or unwillingness to carry out effective social action. It is worth saying again that this is not an argument against goodness, integrity, or purity of motive. Certainly if pacifism has a single unique contribution to make to the problem of revolutionizing our evil society, it is the conviction that means are equally important with ends. Truly there are no figs to be gathered from thistles. But this does not mean that either within or outside our ranks, we should let people's good intentions blind us to the demands of our social beliefs, or thwart us from taking whatever stand is necessary for acting on them. No cause is better than the men who espouse it, but it may be much worse. Evil men cannot produce good results—but men of good will may produce evil results! By their *fruits* ye shall know them, and imperfect as our judgment may be, still we must reject those fruits which to us are evil and act to secure those which to us are good.

Thoreau: Pioneer of Civil Disobedience

(Continued from page 119)

The war is officially now an event of the past, but the need for Thoreau's philosophy has not disappeared with it. Civil disobedience is a weapon of peace even more than of war. It is a weapon for the conscientious man to use wherever he meets tyranny and wrongdoing. How long would a Mayor Hague or a Mayor Curley last in office if the leading citizens took Thoreau's stand and refused to pay their taxes and went to jail? What better weapon is there against Jim Crowism than passive resistance? What better weapon has labor than the non-violent strike? Just as Gandhij has discovered, civil disobedience has both its failings and its failures. But conscientiously applied, it is a weapon that gives hope to the beleaguered man of good will. It is time we American pacifists took heed and spread wide the word of civil disobedience.

COs in Prison

COs Protest Incarceration; Fast in Six Federal Prisons

Conscientious objectors in at least six federal prisons have been on "hunger strikes" in protest against the continued imprisonment of approximately 3,000 men because they are conscientiously opposed to war and conscription.

"Such imprisonment violates American ideals and traditions of liberty and freedom of conscience," assert five fasters in Sandstone prison, "and we believe that it was tolerated by the public only as a matter of wartime expedience." The COs point out that "American authorities have released conscientious objectors in Germany and Japan," but that here in America they are still being held in prison, some having sentences of as much as five years.

Men in other prisons give reasons substantially the same for their protests, and all assert that the only way this undemocratic situation can be rectified is for President Truman to grant amnesty to all Selective Service prisoners. They feel that parole is only a milder form of imprisonment, and therefore not the solution. Expressing confidence that the American public would not tolerate this situation if the facts were known, the men undertook protest hunger strikes in the hope that their action would point up the wrong being perpetuated here in the United States.

Number Fluctuates

The number of men participating in the fasts fluctuates as men are released or go off the fast, and new men take it up. Bent Andresen, whose hunger strike began last October and was of longest duration, has been released from Springfield. David Wieck, transferred from Danbury to the Detention Headquarters in New York, went on a fast until his conditional release May 16, and Lowell Naevé, a former hunger-striker at Ashland, also was released in May.

Careful checking of the June issue of *Grapevine* and of correspondence from some of the men showed the following still fasting as *Fellowship* went to press: *Sandstone*—John Hampton, Malcolm Parker, Igal Roodenko, Charles Worley, and Richard Zumwinkle; *Danbury*—Thomas Parks (fasting to protest race segregation in the army), and Wallace Nelson; *Lewisburg*—Robert Hegler and Clifton Bennett, both recently transferred from Danbury; *Chillicothe*—Albert Ebeling. Late word indicated that Henry Dyer and Glenn Hutchinson had joined the Sandstone fasters. Hutchinson began his fast by limiting

himself to one meal a day in an attempt to identify himself with the starving multitudes in order to point up their need. He has since joined the other men in a total fast.

Force-Feeding Painful

Force-feeding, the device to which prison officials resort in order to keep protesting prisoners from dying, is no pleasant experience at any time, letters from the men indicate. However, it can be rendered "more" or "less" painful according to the treatment by doctors administering the "feeding" and to the condition of the equipment used. Bob Hegler writes that two orderlies do the job at Lewisburg, and because they have good equipment and do the job skilfully, it is accomplished with the least possible pain to the prisoner.

On the other hand, Malcolm Parker reports that Sandstone prison officials admit they do not have the proper equipment for force-feeding; tubes are too large, too old and stiff. Parker's first experiences were "pretty rough and rugged" because a five-sixteenths inch tube was used, causing severe bleeding at the back of the nose for three hours after feeding.

Legion Gets COs Fired From Veterans Hospital

Another of the recurring attempts of local American Legion groups to bar COs from significant work backfired recently when the discharge of three CO attendants at a veterans hospital brought strong protests from community leaders and a court action filed by the American Civil Liberties Union.

The discharges occurred in April, when Donald Coan, James Bernard, and Jack Tootell were dismissed from the Neuropsychiatric Hospital of the Veterans Administration at Sawtelle, Cal., following adoption by the Los Angeles County Council of the American Legion of a resolution protesting the employment of COs in veterans hospitals. The men had been assigned to their job by court order in view of the acute shortage of competent attendants. (Shortly before the COs were fired, the hospital had advertised for 650 male attendants.)

Protests against the dismissal from Los Angeles clergymen and civic leaders brought a statement from Gen. Omar N. Bradley, Veterans Administrator, that no draft law violators will be hired by the VA, the Los Angeles *Times* reported.

The three men allegedly were dismissed because of their convictions for violation of the Selective Service Act by refusing induction. Coan and Bernard had served as attendants in the hospital for five months, and Tootell for two months. All three said that the fact of their court convictions was known to the hospital's personnel department at the time of their employment.

At the time of the dismissal, another conscientious objector, Herman Ber- man, who had worked at the hospital for sixteen months, was suspended from his job for ninety days. He had recently received an efficiency rating of "excellent" for his work.

President Promises "Study" on Amnesty

President Truman wrote to the Committee for Amnesty on May 16, 1946, acknowledging the letter left by the amnesty campaigners on May 11, and saying in part:

"Individual freedom of action in time of war presents important and acute problems. This whole matter is being studied at the present time by Attorney General Clark and my Assistant, Mr. David K. Niles. When they have completed their work, they will communicate with you.

"I share your concern for the preservation of our traditions of individual liberty and freedom of conscience and thank you for writing."

A. J. Muste, replying for the Committee for Amnesty, noted with interest the President's concern for the preservation of the rights of conscience, and expressed hope that the studies "will be completed at an early date and the reports referred to made available." Mr. Muste reminded the President, "Since I was privileged to be a member of a small committee which discussed this matter of a general amnesty with the Attorney General nine months ago, I know that the question has been under consideration for a long time. I respectfully urge that under the circumstances it is not unreasonable for us to ask for a definite report at an early date."

Bayard Rustin Back

Bayard Rustin, who has been on "leave of absence" from the FOR staff was conditionally released from Lewisburg Penitentiary on June 11. The executive committee meeting on that day welcomed the news that Bayard probably would soon be available for active duty. In the meantime, word of his release has spread about and as we go to press requests for his services at summer conferences already are coming in!

COs in CPS

CPS Strikers Wait Trial; SS Hints Discharge Delay

The arrest in May of more than fifty CO work-strikers in Glendora, Cal., and Big Flats, N. Y., focused public attention on the plight of conscientious objectors still being held in isolated Civilian Public Service camps under forced labor conditions and military control. Arrest of the first six men at Glendora was followed within a few days by arrest of an equal number at Big Flats, and the remainder of the Glendora group. Bail bond, reduced to \$500 for the first group, at the insistence of the ACLU, was set at \$1,000 in later arrests. The strikers were arraigned on three charges by the Department of Justice, and it was reported that men who had previously struck at Big Flats but later returned to work, planned to resume the strike if the six permanent strikers were prosecuted.

Whether due to alarm at the sympathetic community reaction in the case of the Glendora strike or from a general desire to twist facts about COs, the U. S. Marshal's office is reported to have released to the newspapers a story beginning "The 'conchies' learned that they were to be arrested and thirty-two of them took to the hills." What really happened was that the strikers, unaware that arrests would be made, were out collecting funds for their Food for Europe project. Learning that they were wanted, seventeen of the men reported at the marshal's office that evening; the next morning, May 30, more than twenty other men reported and, finding the office closed for the holiday, waited on the steps an hour until the marshal could be located to arrest them.

Inside the jail, imprisoned strikers immediately went on a fast to protest placing of one of their number, Tom Johnson, in "jim crow" segregation; outside, other strikers and sympathizers continued to picket the jail until friends had raised the necessary \$41,000 bond, and the men had been released.

Strikers Lose Discharge Rights

Glendora *Strike News* reported that Selective Service had made some post-strike concessions on discharges in a memorandum stating in part, "Beginning June 1, 1946, application may be made for discharge by . . . those who have completed thirty (30) months of service on or before May 31, 1946." However, this was followed by a memorandum signed by Col. Lewis F. Kosch, Assistant Director, Camp Operations, reading: "Applications for discharge filed June 1 or thereafter will contain a statement by the Camp Director to the effect that the applicant

has not participated in any strike or refusal to work since April 15, 1946."

Director Defends Men

The Los Angeles *Daily News* printed a statement by Clarence Yarrow, AFSC Camp Director at Glendora until March 2, 1946 (when the Friends ceased administration of CPS camps) in which he said, "I am surprised that the men in those Civilian Public Service camps have previously shown such restraint. When men are forced to do work which they feel is futile, as has been the case in this camp, over a long period of time with no pay, some explosion must be expected."

Men still in the camp report that their Food for Europe project is suffering because so many of the strikers have been arrested. Before the arrests 1,000 pounds of food were being sent each week to 110 families in France, Belgium, Holland, Italy, Norway, and Hungary.

British Release COs From Wartime Controls

British conscientious objectors find release from wartime controls to be more easily accomplished than do their fellow COs in the United States, according to information appearing in a May issue of *Peace News*. Royal Assent on March 26 released half of the men, and the remainder will be demobilized by October 21, a printed schedule for release showed. No time need be deducted for any periods spent in prison, unless for a non-CO offense, and special releases are provided for COs who want to go back to teaching.

Mental Health Foundation Sees Expanded Program

The move to better conditions in mental hospitals, inspired by COs in the Mental Health Program of CPS, was given a push forward with the publication in *Life* magazine of a ten-page illustrated exposé of conditions within state institutions for the mentally ill. The article represents investigations by Albert Q. Maisel, the author, and the collated reports of more than 3,000 COs who served as attendants.

Continuing under the leadership of Leonard Edelstein as executive secretary, the National Mental Health Foundation, outgrowth of the COs' Program, was incorporated in Philadelphia, thus carrying forward a plan which gained quick recognition because

conscientious objectors "provided the inspiration, facts and impetus." Many well-known persons are included in the Foundation's sponsors, among whom are: Owen J. Roberts, national chairman; Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Rufus Jones, Pearl Buck, Clarence Pickett, Arthur Morgan, Rev. John Haynes Holmes and Dr. Felix Morley. A budget of \$200,000 for 1946 reflects the expanded program.

Brethren Hit Conscription

"In case Congress should enact a peacetime conscription bill, we are unwilling to administer any type of alternative service unless it be free from government dominance." Taking this stand at its Annual Conference last month, the Church of the Brethren urged the government to demobilize CPS more rapidly for increased reconstruction resources, and to grant amnesty to all COs. It pledged the church as against any form of peacetime conscription, and reaffirmed its position of supporting the state "only insofar as it represents good government," denying the state "the right to violate personality or restrain religious faith and practice."

"Pen Friends" Wanted

Boys and girls wishing to make contacts with "pen friends" in the United States are writing from England and other countries of Europe. If you know any high school people interested in corresponding with young people their age in another country, suggest that they write *Fellowship*, 2929 Broadway, New York 25, N. Y., for names and addresses.

Void "Military" Control

The democratic rights of the individual scored one point in a recent Oregon federal district court decision voiding transfers of COs America Chaiarito and Glenn E. Elliott, on the ground that the orders were issued under the signature of Col. Lewis F. Kosch, thus constituting "military and not civilian control as required by the Selective Service Act." This decision, according to *The Reporter*, is the first case to hold that the signature of a member of the Army invalidates transfer orders.

One Year Ago

"Six months after the conclusion of the war, CPS will be ended and all men will be discharged, regardless of the number of men still remaining in the armed forces for occupation service. Selective Service adds . . . CPS men . . . will have no further legal obligation to the government."—*Fellowship*, July 1945.

Church Leaders Urge Renewal of Rationing to Aid the Starving

Declaring that the American people "are fed up with the bickering and disagreements among government officials with regard to the food needs of the starving," Dr. Leslie B. Moss of the Church World Service appealed to the government to abandon "voluntary rationing" and institute "the only equitable system of providing our share—compulsory rationing." He criticized government agencies and officials for withholding facts about the seriousness of the food situation, asserting that people in this country would like to see food rationed and thus feel that they were taking up their share of the burden of keeping starving people alive. The Church World Service represents the relief and reconstruction interests of all the major Protestant denominations.

Statements made by other interdenominational groups and by many denominational bodies bear out the truth of these assertions. Churchmen as individuals and representing their constituents send a constant stream of requests for compulsory rationing of foods to Washington. They have urged such action since the earliest relaxing of wartime controls became evident—many months before President Truman made his spectacular "appeal" to the churches to conserve food in order to save millions from starvation. The Federal Council's executive committee recently urged the government to procure grains, fats, and meats at the source; to establish consumers' rationing; and to forbid any use of grain for alcoholic beverages. *Religious News Service* regularly reports similar action on the part of church groups from all parts of the country, most recent of which are the Birmingham Protestant Pastors Union, the Rhode Island Congregationalists, the Episcopal Dioceses of Delaware and Iowa, and the New England Annual Conference of Methodists.

UNRRA's latest report (April) showed up the following startling discrepancies between weekly commitments for relief overseas and the food it has been able to obtain for shipment.

	Weekly Commitment	Actually Shipped
Bread cereals	161,500 tons	89,000 tons
Fats	12,000	2,440
Rice	13,900	32
Coal	135,000	7,800

Of the 89,000 tons of bread cereals actually shipped during the week indicated, the report said, 60,000 tons were obtained by diverting cargoes for other countries to those in most desperate need.

Declaring that the situation in Austria gives rise to gravest concern for

the future, Dr. A. P. Meiklejohn, head of the nutrition section, ERO, said that six million of the country's total population of 7,500,000 produce no food, and 1,440,000 of them live in Vienna. UNRRA's report quoted Dr. Meiklejohn in a review of Vienna's food situation: between April and June 1945 no food was distributed in Vienna; then until September 1945, the ration provided 800 calories. At that time the Allied Council moved in and established the ration at 1,550 calories for normal consumers. But that level held for little more than two months; since last November the Allies have steadily fallen short in the ration, he said, until in March they officially cut it to 1,200 calories for all of Austria. Subsequent reports showed that even this starvation level was not maintained—the ration scale from April 28 to May 4 falling to 908 calories daily.

"There is no doubt that conditions in Austria are horrible," said UNRRA director LaGuardia in his report. The results of existing for one year on a ration below which disease is bound to appear are now evident in great loss of weight among the people, and the prevalence of scurvy, tuberculosis, septic infection, and all phases of famine sickness, LaGuardia said.

Rebuild Bombed Hostels

Equipped with sufficient food to last ten weeks and with the urge to rebuild bombed-out hostels in France, Holland and Luxembourg, one hundred boys and girls sailed for Europe on June 15. In addition to working under the supervision of French and Dutch engineers to reconstruct hostels, they will work on community projects such as gardening and caring for children.

Mr. and Mrs. Monroe Smith, FOR members and founders of the hostel movement in this country, will lead the group in its European project. Among the hostellers are a number of Fellowship members and several ex-CPS men who went to help with supervision and administrative work. Speaking chiefly of the growth of hosteling in this country since the first hostel opened in 1935 at Northfield, Mass., Mr. Smith said there are now 252 scattered from coast to coast and used by 150,000 persons annually.

Army Has Too Many Men!

Coming close upon the heels of repeated assertions by the Army that they would not have enough men for replacements for overseas troops without extension of the draft, the follow-

ing A.P. news report from Camp Kilmer, N. J., appeared in the *New York Daily News*, May 16, 1946:

"A back-log in troops destined for over-seas shipment has caused the War Department to send an overflow of volunteers from here to Fort Dix. Col. Cecil L. Rutledge, commanding officer of Camp Kilmer, only receiving depot on the East Coast, announced yesterday that this post was overcrowded because commanders of over-seas theaters had not requested men in sufficient numbers."

It has been reported that the officer responsible for giving out this information has since been removed from the post.

Psychologists Warn U. S. Must Stop Bomb-Making

We must stop making atomic bombs immediately. This wise proposal came as part of a six-point program offered by the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, a scientific organization of approximately 500 psychologists and social scientists of allied fields.

Because the production and potentialities of the bomb are wrapped in a policy of "secrecy," under military control, and because the nations are striving for access to atomic power, the psychologists warn us that "a crippling feeling of ignorance, impotence and general insecurity may result." The only way to dispel our fast-growing fear of atomic power, they tell us, is by cooperative social endeavor.

They propose six immediate moves as necessary to cure our psychology of fear: (1) the prevention of war since there is no military defense against the atomic bomb, (2) serious and intelligent action to advance international friendship, (3) international control of atomic energy, (4) discontinuing the manufacture of atomic armaments at once, (5) effective civilian control of atomic energy in the United States at once, and (6) presentation of the facts of "atomic energy" in honest, unexaggerated, *peacetime* terms.

Muriel Lester Tour

Leaving England in September, Muriel Lester will circle the globe under the auspices of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation. She will go to India for a visit in which Mahatma Gandhi is cooperating, will fly over the "hump" to China to spend two months with Chinese leaders and resident missionaries, and expects to go to Japan for a similar visit. Arriving in the United States April 1, 1947, she will be here three months. Arrangements for her speaking tour are being made by Nevin Sayre, the American chairman of the IFOR, 2929 Broadway, New York 25, N. Y.

India's Political Leaders Study New Independence Proposals

As *Fellowship* went to press, the world waited expectantly for news from India, where the two major political parties studied latest proposals for an interim popular government. The White Paper, evoking far more favorable reaction than any previous proposal, was generally accepted as a sincere effort by the British Labor Government. "The major groups, while expressing dissatisfaction with particular aspects of it, have nevertheless indicated a readiness to accept it as at least a basis for discussion," said *India Today*, monthly publication of the India League of America.

Unlike any previous proposal, the White Paper does "unconditionally both in phraseology and in fact, accept the premise of Indian independence in the immediate future." This gave real stimulus to negotiations in India which had developed a chronic weariness as a result of numerous obscure plans for independence and unfulfilled promises offered by the British over a period of many years. Mr. Gandhi, speaking at a prayer meeting, declared that the new proposals contained the seed to convert "this land of sorrow into one without sorrow and suffering," and he appealed to the people to examine the proposals carefully, having in mind the good of the whole country.

The British proposal rejected a separate Pakistan on grounds that the area claimed for Pakistan contained approximately 38 per cent in the north-western and 48 per cent in the north-eastern sections of non-Moslem population; and that there would remain in other parts of India some twenty million Moslems. The White Paper also rejected the plan to separate Pakistan on the ground that it divided the provinces of Punjab and Bengal, each of which has a common language and tradition. Other and basic reasons for rejection of the plan were such matters as the disruption of the country's transportation and communication system, and the matter of defense.

On the other hand, the proposal rejected a unitary India, said the India League's analysis, on the ground that such a plan would not give the Moslems sufficient feeling of security. It saw many administrative difficulties in the Congress party's proposal for a central government with certain specified powers and the delegation of other powers to the individual provinces.

As a compromise between demands of the two major groups, the White Paper proposed "a central executive and legislature with power over foreign affairs, defense, and communications, as well as financial powers necessary for the performance of these functions." It would give all other powers to the provinces, but would "provide

for the grouping of the provinces into three blocs."

Pending establishment of India's independent government, the British proposed an interim government with an entirely Indian cabinet—a departure from previous plans. However, appointment of the interim Executive Council brought strong opposition from the Congress party when it was learned that five members had been appointed from Congress and five from the numerically inferior Moslem League. The Moslems, on their part, stated that the representation was not equal since the one representative of the Scheduled Castes (Untouchables) was pro-Congress. And the Scheduled Castes claimed that the Cabinet Mission gave them 60,000,000 "Untouchables" no more representation than it gave 4,000,000 Sikhs and 3,000,000 Indian Christians.

All groups continued to study the proposals, seeking a solution for the interim government—and the world continued to wait.

Nashville Points Way to Observe "Victory" Days

Constance Rumbough, Southern FOR secretary, wrote of the successful plan carried out by Nashville in its observance of V-E Day, a plan she feels might well be adopted by other cities to observe V-J Day. Forty-nine church, high school, and college music groups participated in a choral and orchestral program, followed by remarks by Mayor Thomas L. Cummings and Governor Jim Nance McCord. Bliss Wiant, a pacifist, originated the idea, and Nic Mas, FOR member, did a superior job with publicity and promotion; Miss Rumbough reported.

The day's observance was based on a conviction that America now has "one more chance to work for peace and world brotherhood," with no sign of the usual militaristic theme that dominates observances of "victory" days. Printed programs carried a full-page statement by the Fellowship enumerating the things people can do to help America secure peace. Proclamations signed by the Governor and by Nashville's Mayor call for this kind of observance as an annual affair.

Cancel FOR Camp

Constance Rumbough reports that she has found it necessary to cancel the Southern work camp which was to have been held at Celso, N. C., July 29 to August 24.

Jottings

Handicraftsmen can contribute to the AFSC war victims relief work by giving handmade articles, such as sewing, embroidery, knitting, crocheting, painting, and similar articles, to be sold in a series of summer and autumn fairs. Last year a total of \$545.51 was raised for the fund in this way. Send articles to M. Imogene Sanborn, 2545 Valentine Ave., Bronx 58, N. Y.

* * *

The Harlem Ashram offers a training course in "The Revolutionary Way of Jesus and Gandhi for the Atomic Age," at World Fellowship Center near Conway, in New Hampshire's White Mountains, August 1 to 29, in conjunction with the World Brotherhood Convocation conducted throughout the summer. Subsistence rates offered for trainees. For particulars write Jay Holmes Smith, Director, Harlem Ashram Center, 2013 Fifth Ave., N. Y.

* * *

According to the May 31 issue of *The Reporter*, approximately 890 CPS men were scheduled for release in June. A summary of discharges for the eight months ending May 24, 1946, showed a total of 5,153 men released, with 3,541 still in CPS.

* * *

CPS men wishing to live in a cooperative group, while working outside, will be welcomed by the Fellowship House Association of Kansas City, Mo., which has purchased a house having space for living quarters and offices. Address Lawrence Scott, 1111A Minnesota Ave., Kansas City 2, Kansas.

* * *

Two pacifist professors wish to make contact with a school having an enthusiastic interracial, international outlook, or with persons interested in organizing such a college. A married couple, supplementing each other in training and experience, they have handled administrative and fund-raising jobs, and taught classes in religion, philosophy, education, psychology, sociology, history, and languages. Answer in care of *Fellowship*.

* * *

Wanted: ex-CPS man as farm assistant on a 320-acre farm in southern Indiana. Applicant need not be experienced but must be interested in farming and machinery repair work. Prefer married man. Good salary and house on bus line to Evansville. Address Lawrence Stahl, Chandler, Ind., Route 2.

* * *

The Committee for Educational Aid to Conscientious Objectors, Wallace Hamilton, executive secretary, expects to begin giving assistance by fall to men released from prison and government camps. COs needing such help should file applications at 252 Fulton St., Brooklyn 1, N. Y.

The Peacemaker's Bookshelf

Church and State

The New Leviathan, by Paul Hutchinson. Willett, Clark & Co., 1946. 233 pp. \$2.

Harking back to Thomas Hobbes' classic reference to the State as Leviathan—"that mortal God to which we owe under the immortal God our peace and defense"—Paul Hutchinson has written a profound and meaty book, filled with a sense of urgency, about the modern State and its tendency toward absolutism, and about the relationship between that State and the Christian Church. It is a fighting book, joining the cause of freedom against totalitarianism wherever and however it manifests itself, and a wise book, with excellent chapters on modern war, on religious liberty, and on the vexing question of religion's place in the public schools of a democratic nation. Its treatment of the struggle between "private enterprise" and "planned economy" is excellent.

However, with all these eulogies, which are deserved, the author takes one important position with which the religious pacifist finds himself at odds.

The chapter "Leviathan at War" concludes: "I trust that I have made it clear how complete is the break between Leviathan at war and the Christian Church." Nevertheless, the author does not personally take the pacifist position, "despite a frequent misgiving that I am taking issue with men and women whose shoe latches I am unworthy to unloose," because "when Leviathan makes total war, the compromises which are then involved in any degree of pacifist 'witness' less than prison or martyrdom are so obvious to the rest of the community as to make the claim of being a pacifist hardly more than an empty form of words... There was no record of any significant number refusing to pay taxes, which would have been the one effective way of separating themselves from the war-making community... The Christian Church can be effectively 'pacifist' only as before war starts; it stands up against every manifestation of the Leviathan spirit and purpose among the nations."

A Crucial Issue

By this test neither Jesus nor the early Christian Church, nor the individuals in Europe who during the war refused to bow to Hitler and the Quislings or to take up arms, were effective against the manifestations of Leviathan in their day. That is perhaps sufficient to indicate the fallacy of the author's thesis and to suggest how much he has here left out of account. But the issue he raises is a crucial one which deserves further comment.

With the idea that most pacifists did not sufficiently separate themselves from the war-making community I

have a great deal of sympathy. But that, it would seem, leads to the conclusion that more people ought to refuse alternative service and payment of taxes, rather than to the defeatist conclusion that there is no way to dissociate themselves from Leviathan at war! Indeed, the logical deduction from Dr. Hutchinson's position is to admit that the state is so all-embracing and life so complex that there is no effective way to combat Leviathan at all. How can a non-pacifist work for "a social and political order which is in accord with the moral law" wholly within a community or state dedicated to the opposite? Is it not essential to dissociate oneself in certain ways and degrees from such a society? And, because an individual is unable totally to dissociate himself, is his refusal to participate in certain activities of no account? How many local churches and communities can Dr. Hutchinson point to where people were not at all excited when a few young men turned out to be COs? And why is it that dictators invariably insist on getting complete conformity?

Pacifists also work for world order before war breaks out; and the charge of being unrealistic and ineffective may be leveled precisely against a Christian Church which does not call upon its members to continue resisting *after war has begun*. One of the big reasons war continues is that military and political leaders know that most of those who call war a "denial of Christ" and who work for world government will submit to being drafted by Leviathan when the showdown comes. Leviathan does not have to abandon war so long as this situation obtains!

Paul Hutchinson's attitude deprecates the significance of the individual who refuses to go along. It seems to him a little thing to do and ineffective. But that is an unsound and, at the present juncture in human history, a most dangerous point of view. What the age needs desperately to see and feel is that it makes *all* the difference in the world whether there are individuals—one, if it comes down to that—who in the words of Wilfrid Owen's *Strange Meeting* say:

"Better break ranks than follow men
from progress,
Miss we the march of this retreating
world
Into vain citadels that are not walled."
As *Life* put it: "The individual conscience against the atomic bomb? Yes. There is no other way."

Unless the Christian churches completely dissociate themselves from war, I doubt that all the efforts to achieve world government will come to anything. We need a spiritual revolution, and setting up a world government to police the peace isn't that. And how will churches dissociate themselves from

war unless individual Christians do so? For it is Christians who have consciences, not churches!

It may be that the future of mankind depends on nothing so much as on whether some leading Christians with capacity for prophetic utterance and leadership join the ranks of avowed pacifists in the name of Christ and his kingdom!

A. J. MUSTE.

The Significance of Gandhi

The Mahatma and the World, by Krishnalal Shridharani. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, 1946. 247 pp. \$3.50.

Shridharani placed the pacifist movement in the Occident greatly in his debt by his publication of *War Without Violence* a few years ago. The study of that book, or at least of the gist of it issued by FOR, is an indispensable part of the preparation of any pacifist who is concerned about the application of his method in areas of social conflict.

This new book about Gandhi, written on the eve of the author's return to India, admirably supplements the earlier volume. I believe that pacifists—and indeed all students of India and of Gandhi—will find it extremely valuable and interesting.

The book sheds light on the early days of the Satyagraha movement in South Africa; on Gandhi's economic views and the extent to which they are likely to be adopted in India; on Gandhi's educational philosophy and program; and on his attitude toward war and in particular war against Japan. In a very thoughtful chapter on the Moslem-Hindu question, Shridharani rejects as oversimplified both the stock nationalist explanation that the British are fomenting religious strife in order to perpetuate their rule, and the stock theory of British apologists that British administration alone has held together a society which now will simply fly to pieces.

Most valuable is the author's fresh presentation in various parts of Gandhi's non-violence as a social action tool. "Most of our wrongs arise not only out of the oppressor, but also from the oppressed. The tyrant has the power to impose only that which the victim lacks the strength to resist. To discard our own weakness and wickedness is, therefore, half the battle," and this requires "suffering and self-purification." Gandhi's proposal of non-violent resistance electrified the Hindus in South Africa because, unlike all the other resolutions presented this "was not aimed at any effect upon people outside the meeting hall. This was meant to steel their own souls, to instill the idea that the battle lay within." And India was later electrified because "in a country whose politics consisted of passing resolutions and drawing up petitions, a man had come who believed in taking direct action."—A. J. M.

Diary of an Adolescent

Blue Boy. By Jean Giono. Viking Press, 1946. 251 pp. \$2.75.

There is a period in every person's life filled with sudden gusts of unreasoned anguish and the confusion of awakening in a strange place. That period is adolescence, when each person collects big chunks of knowledge and experience, rough-cut and unassimilated. But no others, collected in later life, are so gleaming, or in retrospect so somberly beautiful.

Blue Boy is the testament of one man's adolescence, his sudden, confused awakenings, his gleaming experiences, a host of remembered and foreshadowing incidents.

Jean Giono was born in the south of France, a rural district heavy with "the odors of coarse vegetables, fertile land, and the plain." His father was a cobbler, a philosopher, and a radical. "Son, if you live long enough, you will meet men along your road who are followed by flocks of mountains. Men who arrive empty-handed. People scarcely notice that their open hands illumine the darkness like night-lamps."

Two wandering minstrels introduced young Giono to the gaiety of "Monsieur Haydn and Monsieur Mozart," the deep mysteries of Bach. From the helpers in his mother's laundry he learns of women and his reaction to them. From his father's feeding of a tame nightingale, he glimpses the root terror of beauty and compassion.

Giono's narrative rambles, explores, selects with blithe disregard for the tenets of pacing and plot so revered by American and British story-tellers. His style is gnarled and thick with metaphors that are sometimes illuminating and sometimes just a nuisance. But his random incidents and characterizations have a strength and vividness that make Giono an increasingly respected writer.

In 1914, Giono's adolescence was ending. "Men were restless . . . The poets went no more to the fields, they slobbered in their trumpets . . . It was easy for me to set out for the war . . . I was young, and over all young men they were blowing a wind that sang of pirates and the ocean sail."

In 1939, Jean Giono was imprisoned for refusing induction into the French army.

WALLACE HAMILTON.

Life in America— Negro Style

The Street. By Ann Petry. Houghton Mifflin Co., 1946. \$2.50.

Lutie Johnson's tragedy is still unsolved. It is the tragedy of living in Harlem's slums, or in any other slums, for that matter. "No one could live on a street like this and stay decent," cried Lutie out of her hopeless efforts

to overcome the lowering cloud of poverty.

Lutie Johnson wanted only to make enough money to take her son, Bub, and move out of Harlem. But everything that happened to her drove the cloud nearer: the faithlessness of her young husband; loss of a lucrative singing job because she would not meet the demands of the orchestra's white owner; the revenge of the rejected caretaker that led her eight-year old son into police trouble. Lutie never had a real break in her life.

She and her son are the only winsome characters in this story of slum life. All the people who influenced her life are repulsive: the sex-mad apartment house superintendent, his housekeeper with her primitive fetish religion, Mrs. Hodges who ran a house of prostitution, and Boots Smith, a weak orchestra leader. Yet all these characters blend together to make a story live and to portray the effects of "The Street" on the life of one woman and her son.

GEORGE M. HOUSER.

Cooperatives in Print

The Cooperative Way: A Method of World Reconstruction. By James P. Warbasse. Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1946. 192 pp. Co-op edition, \$1.50.

One-fourth of Europe's prewar population (about 53,000,000 persons) were supplied to some extent through 288,000 cooperatives. Warbasse urges the Allied occupation forces throughout the world to give starving people the right to organize co-ops, and to stop acting as if a plethora of politicians and soldiers could rehabilitate disrupted economies and broken lives.

This readable, important book reports that in 1943 there were 810,512 cooperatives with 143,260,953 members in 102 countries. Warbasse says that what is left of these foreign co-ops offers the most effective avenue of mutual aid by which Europe can help feed itself.

"I know of no international organization," writes this world traveler, "in which there exists the degree of solidarity and friendship that prevails in the cooperative movement . . . Consumer cooperative societies favor the elimination of the barriers set up by governments, which keep peoples apart . . . An intelligent, efficient, and cooperative community of people needs organization and planning, but no political government. . . ."

Two Billion Acre Farm. By Robert W. Howard. Doubleday, Doran and Co., Inc., 1945. 220 pp. \$2.50.

The peace and security of any nation are closely bound with the land—source of food and of many of the human values publicized by decentralists. In this informal and interesting history of

the social significance of American agriculture, Howard recounts the comparative ineffectiveness of the Grange, the Populists, and some other agrarian reform movements, due to the mechanization of agriculture, the supplanting of subsistence farming with cash farming, and the growth of cities.

Farmers' marketing cooperatives of the early 1900's, the author sees as a beacon of salvation for the farmer and the urbanite alike. Howard makes several unusual predictions which decentralists, and perhaps pacifists, will hail. He forecasts governmental decentralization and a swing in the United States toward village or farm life "for the bulk of the population."

Ourselves, Inc. By Leo R. Ward. Harper and Brothers, 1945. 242 pp. \$1.50. *United for Freedom.* Edited by Leo R. Ward. Bruce Publishing Co. 264 pp. \$2.50.

Cooperation is a brotherly, economic, middle way between communist and fascist collectivisms. The local cooperative, with its roots in the community, is the economic and social antidote to corporations and the superstate. Consumer cooperatives—without government regulation—can offer more than groceries and oil to a materialistic, monopoly-throttled world, Ward writes.

Both of these books tend to reiterate this general thesis. Cooperatives ". . . are the people's business, and often the people's club, and the people's college . . . It is evident in theory and practice that no dictator can abide them."

While the publication of these two volumes in part symbolizes the widespread interest of Catholic leaders and their rural life movement in cooperatives, the books merit reading by all who claim to be open-minded and interested in achieving economic democracy.

FRED NORA.

On Atomic Fission

Atomic Information, published by the National Committee on Atomic Information, 1621 K Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C. Bi-weekly, free. The N.C.A.I. distributes also a *Study Kit* at \$1.

Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, published by the Atomic Scientists of Chicago, 1126 E. 59th Street, Chicago, Illinois. Bi-weekly, \$2 per year. Also a 62-page booklet, *The Atomic Bomb—Facts and Implications*, 25c.

One World or None, published by Whittlesey House. A "report on the full meaning of the atom bomb," by fifteen scientists. (Included in the *Study Kit* referred to above.)

World Government News, published by World Federalists, Inc., 29 East 28th St., New York, N. Y. Monthly newsletter, 10c.

COs and Psychology

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I was most interested in your review of *Stone Walls and Men*, but distressed that a matter of disagreement between the reviewer and myself on the motivational factor behind the protests of some COs led to a poorly balanced review and prevented the reviewer from dealing with the material in a more inclusive fashion.

Reading this review one gets the impression that what little knowledge I have about COs I obtained from a typical three minute interview that your reviewer so cleverly describes. I should like to defend myself on this particular point by stating that I have, over a period of years, analyzed many COs and recently completed an analysis of one of them following his discharge from the penitentiary. Moreover, I am particularly proud to number among my friends many COs who have permitted me to share their experiences.

The statement of your reviewer that I have done the pacifist movement a great disservice is especially unwarranted. To me, this is like saying that because Lincoln suffered from depressions, or Benjamin Franklin from frequent attacks of the gout, their work has been unworthy. On the contrary I feel that even in the limited space I devoted to this topic in *Stone Walls*, I have aided the cause of peace by removing the Objector decisively and on the basis of very good evidence from the ranks of the criminaloid, where they have been placed by governmental edict.

At any rate I want to thank you and your reviewer for devoting so much space to *Stone Walls* and to reaffirm my admiration for *Fellowship* and its friends.

ROBERT M. LINDNER.

... Al Hassler's review of Lindner's book performs the much needed service of debunking the psychological-psychiatric folderol that passes for a scientific classification of men as they enter the federal penal system. The sophomoric regurgitation of the trade clichés can be testified to by all the "graduates" of Springfield, and I hope each will add his bit to the record.

BENT ANDRESEN.

"War Lord's Prayer"

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Your current number (May) is so excellent I have dismembered it and sent it to various persons. So it may seem ungracious of me to write that "A War-lord's Prayer" rather hurt me and seemed, shall I say, rather flippant and irreverent.

C. WALTER BORTON.

... Finding a parody on the Lord's Prayer on the cover of *Fellowship* was as great a shock to me as any of the many this year has brought.

CLARA HARRISON TOWN.

... Just why should *Fellowship* have published "A War-lord's Prayer"? Was it supposed to be funny? If not, what

Readers are invited to contribute to this page. Please keep letters brief, since space is severely limited.

did it contain that spoke to the hearts of the readers with the spirit of either reconciliation or humility?

CHARLOTTE HAUPT.

... The prayer on the cover is most valuable and useful.

ALICE PARK.

Inclusion of the poem, "A War-lord's Prayer," on the cover of FELLOWSHIP involved no intentional lack of respect for the Lord's Prayer, and the Editors regret that its publication offended some readers. It was felt that this was a sharply penetrating comment on the fact that man has turned so largely from the worship of God to the worship of the demonic force represented by the atomic bomb. In a very literal sense, many men and women in these days lift their prayers to a god of violence in which they have more faith than in the God to whom the Lord's Prayer was prayed.

Governments and War

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

The political immaturity of your magazine was made more apparent by the inclusion of General MacArthur's address (to the Allied Control Council in Tokyo) in the May issue.

Liberal remarks by conquering generals to the effect that the conquered nation should adopt a constitution which prohibits war are about as meaningless and misleading as their corollary "a strong nation, militarily, will keep us out of war."

It matters little whether the General proposes that all nations should adopt a similar course. The fact remains that the governments of Great Britain, Russia, and the United States have no such intention, perhaps for the simple reason that no national government (of a large industrialized country) could exist without the power to wage war either independently or in partnership with other countries.

If that sounds like an extravagant claim, let me elucidate. Members of national governments are nominated and kept in power by the Big Interests (in Russia the Big Interests and the government are one) even though the poor, through ignorance and precedent, sometimes go through the motions of "selecting" them. And one does not have to be overbright to observe that, when rich and poor (powerful and power-

less) are governed by the same laws, the advantage must go to the side whose interests and privileges are more similar to those of the governing body. It would be cutting one's own throat to do otherwise, and we haven't many martyrs in national governments. That being the case, whenever there is a large business slump or when the poor threaten to become unmanageable, war enables those in power to throw money to their wealthy backers and tighten up the reins of government, all in one stroke. (Right now, the B.I. and their associates in Washington are audibly sighing for the "national unity" of wartime America.)

Until national governments are done away with and the Big Interests are forced to decentralize, giving the people an opportunity to reorganize and rebuild the social-political structure of civilization on a level foundation, it is either hypocrisy or liberal twaddle to lecture on the adoption of national constitutions that prohibit war. It seems to me it is of the utmost importance that pacifists recognize this truth. Otherwise they are wasting their time and energies on organizations dedicated to world peace.

J. A. CANTINE.

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

It hardly seems likely that any great number of people are going to take seriously Aldous Huxley's suggestion to deny ourselves all the faked and doctored news and entertainment we get from the radio and the newspapers. But wouldn't it be a good idea if we had some scouts who made it their business to inform the news agencies and the sponsors every time they see through a transparency or have good cause to suspect an item of news or a bit of advertising. If the suckers should "get wise" in sufficient numbers, and that wouldn't have to be all of them by any means, it could be very disturbing; in fact, it could ruin the whole business. A rather small but alert minority could do it. I'm sure a great many people have learned to write letters to remote individuals like congressmen, as a result of the anti-conscription campaign. If we could only have some of them stay on the job, it would help.

It seems to me that United Press, Associated Press, and International News Service should be hit, and hit often, with such letters. Local newscasters often deny any responsibility for their "dope," and I do not know where it comes from if not from these big agencies. A leaflet analyzing the common tricks and giving addresses of the agencies would be helpful, I think.

MILDRED JOHNSTON.

... I am always amazed, when I read *Fellowship*, that so much is being done by the FOR staff. May God guide you in all that is right.

ETTA LEE GOWDY.

FOR Field Secretaries

South: Constance Rumbough, 1804 Grand Avenue, Nashville 4, Tenn.; Midwest: Emerson Schwenk, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.; Northwest: Mary Farquharson, 1406 East 40th St., Seattle 5, Wash.; Northern California: Orval Etter, 2151 Vine Street, Berkeley 7, Cal.; Southwest: Glenn Smiley, 3302 S. Grand Ave., Los Angeles 7, Cal.; Rocky Mountain: Carl Landes, 1418 Grape Street, Denver, Colo.; Action Projects: George Houser, 1850 E. 81st St., Cleveland 3, Ohio; Middle Atlantic: James E. Bristol, Room 900, 1831 Chestnut St., Philadelphia 3, Pa.

**Anything we send
is less than
they need!**

The FOR War Victims Fund goes to points of need that other, larger efforts cannot reach. Money from this fund, personally delivered in Europe by John Nevin Sayre, helped

— F. Siegmund-Schultze purchase medical supplies for refugees in Berlin;

— An FOR worker care for war victims in Prague;

— Margrethe Thorburg feed Germans interned in Denmark;

— Wilhelm Mensching secure medical and surgical treatment for war victims in Germany.

Some Immediate Needs:

DENMARK—200,000 German refugees are still in concentration camps (men, women and babies) surrounded by hatred. FOR members can take them material aid, proving friendship can survive war.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA—Refugee children, orphaned or separated from their families by the war, are being restored to health and happiness by FOR members who have converted four old castles into temporary homes for such children.

GERMANY—Insulin supplies were exhausted long ago. FOR members in Germany say great suffering can be avoided and many lives saved if stocks of insulin can be supplied.

AUSTRIA—FOR members have supplied food parcels to a large group of old and helpless people in Vienna, neglected by all other organizations. This work cannot be carried on without more gifts from American members.

POLAND—The way has not opened yet to send relief to Germans in Poland, but we are waiting for the time when we can help these Germans left to starve while other people living in Poland are helped by UNRRA.

We have deliberately avoided painting these pictures in the vivid colors called for because you people already know the tragic plight of the world's war victims.

Remember—

**Anything we send
is less than they need!**

USE THE WAR VICTIMS

MITE BOXES

Start your vacation by adopting the FOR mite box plan for contributing to this work. Send for your box today.

Fellowship of Reconciliation

2929 Broadway

New York 25, N. Y.

Fellowship of Reconciliation NATIONAL CONFERENCE

September 6-8, 1946

To be held in the First Methodist Church
and Garrett Biblical Institute

EVANSTON, ILLINOIS

First national conference since Lakeside, 1941

SPEAKERS

Robert M. Hutchins, Chancellor, University of Chicago
A. J. Muste, Co-secretary, Fellowship of Reconciliation
Earl Smith, Montevideo, Treas., South American FOR
One of the European FOR leaders, to be announced

DISCUSSION LEADERS

Douglas Steere • Walter G. Muelder
Rockwell Smith • John Oliver Nelson • Walter Sikes
Alexander Stewart • Roy McCorkel • Orval Etter
and others

ROUND TABLE DISCUSSIONS ON:

1. How to prevent an atomic armaments race and war.
2. How pacifists can function on issues in church, educational, and social agencies.
3. How pacifists can function in economic and labor groups.
4. How pacifists can function in political and civil liberties groups.

REGISTRATION

Advance Registration is desirable for all and is *imperative for those who wish to make arrangements for lodging in advance*. Please apply promptly! A limited number of free sleeping accommodations for Friday and Saturday nights will be available for those whose means are limited and whose attendance depends upon such arrangements, but requests for hospitality should be received not later than August 26. The registration fee will be \$2.00 (students \$1.00).

INFORMATION

More detailed information about the conference program and about arrangements for hospitality will be sent upon request.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation

2929 Broadway

New York 25, N. Y.

Headliners for Your Summer Booklist

Above All Nations

Vera Brittain, George Catlin, and Sheila Hodges have compiled this anthology of deeds of mercy done to enemies by men of all nations.....\$0.75

Science, Liberty and Peace

Aldous Huxley tells how you can help overcome the nationalism and centralization of power that make scientific progress a threat to humanity.....\$0.75

The New Leviathan

Paul Hutchinson offers here a vital discussion of the modern, all-embracing state as a reality with which Christianity must learn to cope.....\$2.00

The Mahatma and the World

Krishnalal Shridharani throws new light on Gandhi and his explosive ideas as related to India's role in the modern world. Most timely.....\$3.50

One World or None

A report to the public on the full meaning of the atomic bomb, by 15 top scientists and the Federation of American Scientists. Large paper edition...\$1.00

Now Is the Time to Prevent a Third World War

Kirby Page clearly depicts the course we must follow if we hope to avoid the destruction of civilization in an atomic war. By all means read this..\$1.00

PERTINENT PAMPHLETS

Political Theories of Modern Pacifism

A logical analysis and criticism of current pacifist political theories and philosophies by Mulford Sibley..... .25

Introduction to Non-violence

Theodore Paullin analyzes types of non-violence and evaluates various historical examples of non-violence..... .25

The Church and Returning COs

Information and advice for ministers and church workers on the reintegration of COs into local churches. By Roy Burkhart..... .10

Conscientious Objectors in Prison

A detailed study of COs in World War II, their grounds for objection, prison life, parole, etc. Sibley & Wardlaw..... .25

They Refuse to Be Criminals

A vivid story of conscientious objectors and parole, with details of the Dole, Gara, and Richards cases. By E. C. M. Richards... .25

SEND FOR FREE LIST OF LATEST BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

Have You Tried the F-N* Test?†

(*Finger-nail.)

(†with apologies to some hair stuff, whose advertisers dreamed this up first.)

When you rub your finger-nails lightly across your scalp, what do you get? Unsightly dandruff? Broken finger-nails? Old hairpins and notes to the milkman?

Whatever it is, you'd be better off without it, wouldn't you? So stop scratching your head! Subscribe to *Fellowship* and know the answers! (A recent survey of 4,572 army officers showed that *not one of them* reads *Fellowship*! You don't want to be an army officer, do you?)

Another thing—tell your friends about this. If everyone would stop scratching his head (their heads?) and becoming army officers, that would be a long step toward lasting peace! Help the cause along by subscribing for your friends. Only *two-o-o* dollars for a *whole* year!

Look—the September issue special: a symposium by leading pacifists (Harry Emerson Fosdick, A. J. Muste, Allan Knight Chalmers, Bayard Rustin, Corbett Bishop, and others) on the direction in which pacifists should work *now*—in the atomic age—for world peace. You'll not want to miss it!

P.S.—Is there someone you'd like to send a sample copy of *Fellowship*? We'll make a dicker with you. You write and tell him about it; we'll send the sample, with a subscription blank. (You'll have to send us his name, of course.)

CASH WITH ORDER EXPEDITES SERVICE AND REDUCES EXPENSE—THANK YOU!

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION • 2929 Broadway, New York 25, N. Y.